

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
PHILIP
KING OF MACEDON.

VOL. II.

A

THE
HISTORICAL
OF THE
DIET AND REIGN



P. H. I. P.
THE KING OF MACEDON

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
L I F E A N D R E I G N
O F
P H I L I P
K I N G O F M A C E D O N ;
T H E F A T H E R O F A L E X A N D E R .

B Y
T H O M A S L E L A N D , D . D .
F E L L O W O F T R I N I T Y C O L L E G E , D U B L I N ,

T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N .

V O L . I I .

L O N D O N :

P r i n t e d f o r E . J O H N S T O N , i n L u d g a t e - s t r e e t .

M D C C L X X V .

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

PHILIP

KING OF MACEDON

THE FATHER OF ALEXANDER

BY

THOMAS



ESQ. OF THE

THE SECOND EDITION

VOL. II

LONDON

Printed for J. Johnson, in Pall-mall

MDCCLXXXV

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
PHILIP
KING OF MACEDON.
BOOK THE THIRD.

VOL. II.

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THE
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OF
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BOOK THE THIRD

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THE LIFE AND REIGN OF
THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
P H I L I P
K I N G O F M A C E D O N.
BOOK THE THIRD.

SECTION I.

DURING the disorders of Euboea, the Kingdom of Macedon was alarmed by a conspiracy, formed (as was supposed) by Archelaus, Aridaeus, and Menelaus, three natural sons of Amyntas, to dethrone Philip, and to divide the kingdom between them. It doth not appear probable, that an attempt of this nature could have really been made against a prince, surrounded with large armies, strength-

Book III.
 SECT. I.
 Oliv. vol.
 2. p. 1.
 Justin, l. 3.
 c. 3.

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ened by alliances, and admired and beloved by his subjects: yet the danger was industriously magnified by Philip and his creatures. Archelaus was seized, and, according to the custom of Macedon, condemned to death by the army. Aridaeus and Menelaus had taken refuge in Olynthus; suspicions seem to have been fomented of this state, as sharing deeply in the conspiracy; and an indignation to have been artfully raised, against a people who could thus basely join in designs against their ally, their friend, and benefactor. The dispositions which they had already discovered, the jealousy and hatred which they had already expressed of Philip, must have given some credit to such representations; and that prince well knew how to improve every circumstance, and to find the fairest and most plausible pretences for his designs.

OLYNTIUS was now much more powerful than ever. When Lacedemon came, with all her force, to fall on the Olynthian territories, the state commanded but five thousand foot, and four hundred horse. Ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse, was now the force of Olynthus: and its dominions were enlarged and strengthened by the concessions made by Philip in the infancy of his reign. But the Macedonian

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
75.

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nian had taken care to render all their power ineffectual. The Olynthians saw several of their citizens grown rich and great, in a manner quite unaccountable; their possessions were enlarged; they raised stately houses; and displayed their affluence and magnificence. This was the price at which they sold their integrity to the enemy of their country: yet were their fellow-citizens so infatuated, as to grant them the confidence and respect, due only to riches acquired by merit and honest industry. Thus did corruption prepare the way to their destruction: and then was the time for Philip's attack. He demanded that his two brothers should be surrendered to him. The Olynthians, either convinced of their innocence, or thinking themselves bound to protect them from the consequences of an attempt which they themselves had encouraged, refused absolutely to give them up: and, to support his demand, Philip led his forces directly into their territories.

7
SECT. I.

Olymp.
107. Y. 4.

THE first appearance of their danger determined the Olynthians to dispatch ambassadors to Athens, to cement that friendship, which their mutual interests had already formed; and to engage the people to enter into that strict alliance, which might oblige them to send assistance to the Olynthians, against an enemy they were equally concerned to oppose.

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Dem. Olyn.
s. sect. 4.Tourreil
Sommaire
Olyn. 1.

lip's present invasion had raised the ferment and confusion at Athens, natural to a people, whose inquisitive dispositions had ever rendered them attentive to the motions of their rival; though their indolence and supineness kept them from opposing or preventing them. A war between these two neighbouring powers, which had been long the object of their wishes, as the only means of confining Philip's views to his own kingdom, had now happened: and an assembly was convened to deliberate on the measures proper to be taken in consequence of this event. The ambassadors were introduced and heard; and most of the eminent speakers delivered their opinions on this important occasion. At length Demosthenes arose, and supported the demands of Olynthus, in the first of those which are called Olynthiac orations.

ADDRESS and energy are equally conspicuous in this performance. He begins with congratulating his countrymen on an event so agreeable to their views, and favourable to their interests. But let us attend to the orator himself, in his remarkably delicate and fine exordium. "In many instances (Athenians!) have the Gods, "in my opinion, manifestly declared their favour to this state: nor is it least observable "in this present juncture. For that an enemy "should

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“ should arise against Philip, on the very con-
 “ fines of his kingdom, of no inconsiderable
 “ power; and, what is of most importance, so
 “ determined upon the war, that they consider
 “ any accommodation with him, first, as infi-
 “ dious; next, as the downfall of their country:
 “ this seems no less than the gracious interpo-
 “ sition of heaven itself. It must, therefore, be
 “ our care, (Athenians!) that we ourselves may
 “ not frustrate this goodness. For it must re-
 “ flect disgrace, nay, the foulest infamy, upon
 “ us, if we appear to have thrown away, not
 “ those states and territories only which we once
 “ commanded, but those alliances and favour-
 “ able incidents which fortune hath provided
 “ for us.”

SECRET

THE greatness of Philip's power, and the continued course of his successes, were the considerations which principally dispirited the Athenians, and possibly were urged with too much force by the speakers which had before appeared. These he therefore represents in such a manner, as to convince them of the necessity of opposing him, and, at the same time, to encourage them to the attempt. Corruption and artifice are the causes to which he ascribes his elevation. All those whom he deceived, and made the instruments of his power, are now convinced of his

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his insincerity; and ready to unite, and to reduce him to his original condition. No acquisitions, no advantages, can secure him from the fatal effects of this combination. "For
"when forces join in harmony and affection,
"and one common interest unites the confederating powers, then they share the toils with
"alacrity, they endure the distresses, they persevere. But when extravagant ambition, and
"lawless power, (as in his case) have aggrandized a single person; the first pretence, the
"slightest accident, overthrows him; and all
"his greatness is dashed at once to the ground,
"For it is not, no Athenians! it is not possible
"to found a lasting power upon injustice, perfidy, and treachery. These may perhaps succeed for once; and borrow for a while, from
"hope, a gay and flourishing appearance. But
"time betrays their weakness; and they fall
"into ruin of themselves. For as, in structures of every kind, the lower parts should
"have the greatest firmness; so the grounds
"and principles of actions should be just and
"true. But these advantages are not found in
"the actions of Philip."

He therefore recommends to them to dispatch immediate and effectual succours to the Olynthians; to send ambassadors to animate
and

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and encourage the Thessalians in their dispositions which had lately appeared, and which, he still insists, were utterly unfavourable to Philip; and to enforce their remonstrances by their own vigour and activity. Such a conduct, he declares, could not fail to bring down that ruin upon Philip, which he represents as just impending, and ready to crush him: in which his allies, his subjects, his soldiers, his excesses, his jealousy, and envy, his insatiable ambition, and even his victories, all conspired to involve him. To the Athenians, and to their misconduct, to the abuses and corruptions which had crept into the administration, and to these only, he imputes the successes of their enemy. Some of these corruptions he displays at large; others he hints at with sufficient severity; and concludes with enforcing the necessity of a thorough reformation.

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SECT. I.

DEMOSTHENES was vigorously opposed by Demades, a popular leader, then of considerable figure. I here take the liberty of transcribing the character of this leader, as I have represented it on another occasion: "He was
" a man, who, by birth and education, seemed
" destined to meanness and obscurity: but, as
" the Athenian assembly admitted persons of
" all ranks and occupations to speak their sen-

Philochorus
in Dionys.
Epist. ad.
Amm.

Pref. to
Transf. of
the Phil.
Orations.

Book III.

" timents, his powers soon recommended him
 " to his countrymen; and raised him from the
 " low condition of a common mariner, to the
 " administration and direction of public affairs.
 " His private life was stained with those brutal
 " excesses, which frequently attend the want of
 " early culture, and an intercourse with the in-
 " ferior and least refined part of mankind.
 " His conduct, as a leader and minister, was not
 " actuated by the principles of delicate honour
 " and integrity: and his eloquence seems to have
 " received a tincture from his original condition.
 " He appears to have been a strong, bold, and
 " what we call a blunt speaker; whose manner,
 " rude and daring, and sometimes bordering on
 " extravagance, had oftentimes a greater effect
 " than the more corrected style of other speakers,
 " who confined themselves within the bounds
 " of decorum and good breeding."

" WHATEVER might have been the motive of
 " his opposition on the present occasion, whether
 " a sincere and disinterested difference of senti-
 " ment, or, which is more probable, the secret
 " influence of Macedonian gold, his opposition
 " was in a good measure ineffectual: for the
 " Athenians were so far affected by the eloquence
 " and force of Demosthenes, that they decreed to
 " send two thousand men, and thirty ships, to
 " the

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the assistance of Olynthus. But, unhappily, these forces were composed of foreigners and mercenaries, and commanded by Chares, who, notwithstanding what may have been said by Demosthenes to palliate his misconduct, was undoubtedly a disgrace to his country, and to the military character: fitter to be employed, as Timotheus observed, to carry the baggage, than to command an army.

Sicr. 1.

Plutarch in
Apophth.

WHILE the Athenians were thus employed in debating and forming decrees and resolutions, Philip was in the field, and acting with all imaginable vigour. No sooner had this prince entered the Chalcidian region, than the commanders of every town were ready to receive his bribes, and to open their gates to him. The fortress of Gira was first taken and razed; and then his march was directed to Stagira. The inhabitants, who were trained to war, attempted to stop the progress of his arms: but the place was soon taken by storm; those who escaped the sword were reduced to slavery; and the town razed to the foundations. The neighbouring cities were either corrupted or intimidated, and opened their gates. Miciberna, a town situated on the Toronaic gulph, was so well provided and fortified, that it appeared capable of holding out a considerable time. But

Demost. de
falsa Leg.
Sect. 75.

Diod. Sic.
L. 16. Sect.
52.

Ib. sect. 53.

Book III.

the corruption of the governour saved Philip the tediousness and trouble of a siege. Toronè, a maritime city, whose citadel was joined by strong walls to the sea, soon had the same fate; and, possibly, on this occasion it might have been, that Philip, when the strength of the place was represented to him, asked that memorable question, "Cannot a mule, laden with money, find access to it?"

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 24.

Dem. de
falsa Leg.
ut supra.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 4.

ALL this time the Athenian succours were expected in vain. They had failed; but how their course had been directed, was a matter totally unknown. The Olynthian cities were almost all subdued, or purchased with so much ease, that Philip, as Demosthenes observes, could not often advance fast enough to accept of all the invitations of traitors, contending who should be speediest to take his pay, and betray their trust; and was frequently at a loss to determine, which of them he should first gratify. The capital city was now threatened with a siege; and the general terroure and consternation, as well as the strength of the invader, seems to have been duly weighed, and to have prompted the Olynthians to attempt an accommodation: at least, by offering a treaty, to gain some respite of the present danger; and, if possible, to amuse the enemy, till succours should

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should arrive. But it was in vain to hope to deceive the penetration of Philip. He knew how to retort this artifice upon themselves; and, by affecting some attention to their overtures, to render his designs doubtful for a while: still, however, continuing his approaches; till at last, when he had advanced within forty stadia of Olynthus, he took off the mask; avowed his resolutions of for ever preventing his enemies from forming any connexions with this state, which might embarrass or distress him; and declared explicitly, that either the Olynthians must quit their territories, or he could not reign in Macedonia.

SECT. I.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 4.

THIS people had long suspected, but now received a terrifying proof, that he meditated no less than their final ruin and subversion. Vigour and resolution were the only means left to save them. They collected their own forces, with whom they united those which their neighbours could afford, and determined to try their fortune in the field. They fought bravely; and their cavalry, in particular, distinguished themselves by their gallant conduct. But they were defeated, and shut up within their walls: and, while the victor was preparing for a vigorous siege, ambassadors were again sent to Athens, to represent the desperate condition of Olynthus, and

Dem. de
falsâ Leg.
ut supra.

Diod. Sic.
lib. 16. sect.
53.

Book III.

and to urge the necessity of supporting this state

against the Macedonian arms.

Æschin.
de fal. Leg.
sect. 24.

HERE were again raised that tumult and confusion, which the news of Philip's victories usually occasioned. Of their general, their army, their fleet, they had no accounts: their allies were not only left unprotected, but their settlements and dependent towns in Thrace, particularly in the Chersonesus, were invaded and harassed by the Macedonians. They were also alarmed with intimations of a treasonable correspondence carried on within their city, by which Philip was secretly supplied with arms, and all necessaries for his fleet. At the motion of Timarchus, a popular leader, and zealous opposer of the Macedonian interest, they issued out a decree, denouncing sentence of death against all such infamous practices: and loudly clamoured against Chares, whose neglect, or treachery, had thus distressed his country. The most strenuous partisans of this commander held down their heads in confusion: and, to allay the present ferment, Cephisophon, one of his most intimate friends, was now obliged to move, that Antiochus, who commanded those gallies which were usually sent out with advices, should immediately set sail, and seek out this chief, to whom the Athenians had entrusted their fleet; and, when found, should

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
80, 81.

Æschin.
ut supra.

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should inform him, that the Athenian people were highly surprized, that Philip should be suffered to invade their dependent settlements, while they themselves were totally ignorant what course their admiral had taken; where he was now stationed; or in what manner he had disposed his forces.

Sacr. I.

BUT he himself now brought the news of his own exploits, as we find them recorded in those fragments of Theopompus, which Athenaeus hath preserved. Instead of opposing the attempts against Olynthus; instead of protecting any of the Athenian settlements; he had contented himself with making a descent on the coast of Pallene, where he met those eight hundred men, who were called Philip's friends, and who have been already described, headed by one Audaeus. On these he fell with all his force, and soon put them to flight. He was now returned in triumph to Athens; and, in honour of this illustrious victory, gave a public entertainment, on which he expended no less than sixty talents, which he had exacted from the Phocians. The people, who judged of the importance of the exploit, by the manner in which it was celebrated, imagined, that their general must have given Philip some very fatal blow: and the assembly, now convened to consider the demands

Atheni
l. 12. p. 534.

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Dem. Olyn.

a. sect. 1.

of Olynthus, breathed nothing but contempt and indignation at Philip's present enterprizes, and vain and extravagant menaces of revenge and chastisement.

SUCH were their dispositions, when Demosthenes appeared, and addressed the assembly, in the second of the Olynthiac orations. He begins, on this occasion, with correcting the vanity and confidence of his countrymen; he rouses them, by the terrour of impending danger, and affects to consider the defence of Olynthus as the last and only means of preserving the very being of Athens. They were now engaged in an alliance with Olynthus; and there could be no doubt of the necessity of fulfilling their engagements: but how to be enabled was the great question. By the original constitution of Athens, every citizen, without distinction, was obliged to serve personally in the field, until he had arrived at the age of forty years. No station, circumstances, or character, could possibly be pleaded as an excuse: but all, without distinction, men of eminence, men who had been dignified by public offices, philosophers, whose lives were devoted to contemplation, to the acquisition and propagation of knowledge, gloried in the faithful discharge of the sacred duty which they owed to their country, and in the resolution and bra-

Tourreil.
Not. in
Phil. 1.
p. 271.

very with which they fought its battles, even in the station of private soldiers. We find Plato (in his apology) boasting of the military prowess of his master Socrates: and his own actions in the field have not wanted the due applause of history. But new decrees had now been made, and new customs introduced, by which men of wealth and interest were enabled to procure an exemption from military duties; so that it was become exceedingly difficult to raise an army composed of Athenian citizens: while a senseless profusion at home, and ill concerted and unsuccessful expeditions abroad, had, by this time, almost entirely exhausted their finances. The weight of public expences began to be universally complained of; and some attempts seem to have been made to put an end to that shameful misapplication of their treasure to the support of theatrical entertainments. Apollodorus, in particular, a wise and public-spirited Athenian, proposed to the assembly, as we learn from Demosthenes*, that this important affair should be duly weighed; and that they should consider of the expediency of applying the redundancies of their treasury, according to the original intent, to the support of their armies. But all such attempts were now effectually frustrated; for Eubulus, a popular leader, who sought to gain an interest and influence in the assembly,

SECT. I.

* In Naer. Initio.

Liban. t. 1 p. in Olyn. a.

Book III.

bly, by flattering the vices and follies of his countrymen, had lately prevailed to have a law passed, by which it was pronounced a capital offence for any man to propose a decree for the alienation of the theatrical money. Thus was every honest counsellor reduced to the melancholy alternative, of either passing over in silence so scandalous and pernicious an abuse, or of sacrificing his life to his sincerity and integrity.

THESE were the great difficulties, with which Demosthenes was now to struggle: and his personal safety obliged him to treat this latter point with the exactest caution. "Appoint magistrates," saith he, "for the inspection of your laws; not to enact any new laws; you have already a sufficient number; but to repeal those, whose ill effects you now experience. I mean the laws relating to the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it) and some about the soldiery. By the first, the soldier's pay goes, as theatrical expences, to the useless and inactive; the others screen those from justice, who decline the service of the field, and thus damp the ardour of those disposed to serve us. When you have repealed these, and rendered it consistent with safety to advise you justly, then seek for some person to propose that decree, which you are all sensible the common good requires."

“requires. But, till this be done, expect not
 “that any man will urge your true interest,
 “when, for urging your true interest, you repay
 “him with destruction. Ye will never find such
 “zeal: especially since the consequence can be
 “only this; he who offers his opinion, and
 “moves for your concurrence, suffers some un-
 “merited calamity: but your affairs are not in
 “the least advanced; nay, this additional in-
 “convenience must arise, that, for the future, it
 “will appear more dangerous to advise you,
 “than even at present. And the authors of these
 “laws should also be the authors of their repeal.
 “For it is not just that the public favour should
 “be bestowed on them, who, in framing these
 “laws, have greatly injured the community;
 “and that the odium should fall on him, whose
 “freedom and sincerity are of important service
 “to us all.—Until these regulations be made,
 “you must not think any man so great, that he
 “may violate those laws with impunity; or so
 “devoid of reason, as to plunge himself into
 “open and foreseen destruction.”

In the progress of this speech, he draws a contrast between the ancient and present state of Athens; between the conduct of former times and that of his cotemporaries; which, as it sets

the corruptions of their state in the clearest point of view, deserves to be inserted at large.

“ AND here (saith the orator) let me intreat
 “ your attention to a summary account of the
 “ conduct of your ancestors, and of your own.
 “ I shall mention but a few things, and these
 “ well known: (for, if you would pursue the
 “ way to happiness, you need not look abroad
 “ for leaders; our own countrymen point it
 “ out.) These our ancestors, therefore, whom
 “ the orators never courted, never treated with
 “ that indulgence, with which you are flattered,
 “ held the sovereignty of Greece, with general
 “ consent, five and forty years; deposited above
 “ ten thousand talents in our public treasury;
 “ kept the king of this country in that subjection,
 “ which a barbarian owes to Greeks; erected
 “ monuments of many and illustrious actions,
 “ which they themselves atchieved, by land and
 “ sea; in a word, are the only persons who have
 “ transmitted to posterity such glory as is superior
 “ to envy. Thus great do they appear in
 “ the affairs of Greece. Let us now view them
 “ within the city, both in their public and private
 “ conduct. And, first, the edifices which
 “ their administrations have given us, their decorations
 “ of our temples, and the offerings
 “ which

“ which they deposited, are so numerous, and so Sect. I.
 “ magnificent, that all the efforts of posterity
 “ cannot exceed them. Then, in private life, so
 “ exemplary was their moderation, their adhe-
 “ rence to ancient manners so scrupulously exact,
 “ that, if any of you ever discovered the house of
 “ Aristides, or Miltiades, or any of the illustrious
 “ men of those times, he must allow, that it
 “ was not distinguished by the least extraordi-
 “ nary splendour. For they did not so conduct
 “ the public business, as to aggrandize them-
 “ selves; their sole great object was to exalt the
 “ state. And thus, by their faithful attachment
 “ to Greece, by their piety to the gods, and by
 “ that equality which they maintained among
 “ themselves, they were raised (and no wonder)
 “ to the summit of prosperity.

“ Such was the state of Athens at that time,
 “ when the men I have mentioned were in power.
 “ But what is your condition, under those in-
 “ dulent ministers who now direct us? Is it the
 “ same, or nearly the same? — Other things I
 “ shall pass over, though I might expatiate on
 “ them. Let it only be observed, that we are
 “ now, as you all see, left without competitors;
 “ the Lacedemonians lost; the Thebans en-
 “ gaged at home; and not one of all the other
 “ states of consequence sufficient to dispute the
 C 4 “ sovereignty

Book III.

“sovereignty with us. Yet at a time, when we
“might have enjoyed our own dominions in
“security, and have been the umpires in all dis-
“putes abroad; our territories have been wrest-
“ed from us; we have expended above one
“thousand five hundred talents to no purpose;
“the allies, which we gained in war, have been
“lost in time of peace; and to this degree of
“power have we raised up an enemy against
“ourselves. (For let the man stand forth, who
“can shew whence Philip has derived his great-
“ness, if not from us.)”

In the conclusion, he once more hints at the expediency of paying their soldiers with the money now destined to the use of the theatre; still guarding against any formal motion or proposal. And, to treat this affair with still greater delicacy, he suggests another method of eluding the force of Eubulus's law: and that is, that these theatrical distributions should be still continued; but that all those, who were in the service of the public, and who usually received their several appointments, should now discharge their respective duties, without pay, fee, or reward; so that the name only of these distributions would have in that case remained.

But

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BUT however the Athenians might have indulged or approved of the liberty, with which Demosthenes censured their conduct, and enforced their real interest, they yet could not prevail on themselves to sacrifice their darling entertainments to glory and security. They, however, granted to the Olynthians a reinforcement of four thousand foreign infantry, and one hundred and fifty horse, under the command of Charidemus. This general began with ravaging Bottia, a territory on the confines of Chalcis, which, among other towns, contained Pella, the capital of Macedon; and then threw his forces into Olynthus. Encouraged by these succours, the inhabitants hazarded another battle, but were received with the bravery and vigour usual to the Macedonians, and driven back to their city with considerable loss. In these two battles, which Philip had now fought with the Olynthians, Apollonides, the commander of their cavalry, a man of eminence, and friend to the Athenians, who had honoured him with the freedom of their city, seems to have discovered such abilities and valour, as threatened to retard his progress. He knew the value of a brave, judicious, and faithful officer; and judged it necessary to deprive his enemies of so important an acquisition. His gold had already gained a considerable party within the walls of Olynthus,

by

SECT. I.

Philochorus
in Dionys.
Epist. ad
Amm.

Diod. Sic.
lib. 16.
sect. 53.

Demosth.
in Near.

BOOK III.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 12.

by whose malicious practices, and factious clamours, the Olynthians were fatally deceived, and made to entertain suspicions of the integrity of Apollonides. Blinded by prejudice, and inflamed and deceived by infamous arts, they listened readily to one of Philip's creatures, who was employed to accuse him publicly; banished their zealous and honest general, and unhappily were prevailed on to confer his command upon Euthycrates and Lathenes, two corrupted and abandoned traitors, who had sold themselves, and their country, to Philip. Such was the madness of the many: and so false and dangerous a test of real merit doth popularity frequently prove.

Theop. in
Athen. 1.
30. p. 436.

THE forces of Charidemus, at the same time, proved useless and contemptible; and their general distinguished himself only by his insolence and debauchery. At every meal, according to his custom, he drank to a scandalous excess; and publicly insulted the ladies of Olynthus by his brutality. He was even so insolent and abandoned, as to demand that the senate of Olynthus should procure for him a beautiful youth, a captive then in the town, as a reward for his pretended services.

THE Olynthians, thus unhappily circumstanced, were obliged to apply once more to Athens,

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Athens, and to desire a reinforcement, composed of citizens animated with a sincere ardour for their interest, their own glory, and the common cause. Demosthenes was still their strenuous advocate, and, on this occasion, pronounced the third Olynthiac oration. The same motives to vigour and resolution, the same animated expostulations and remonstrances, are urged in this performance, with new force and energy. The sum of the orator's advice is this : to send immediate succours to Olynthus, and these formed of citizens ; to make, at the same time, a diversion in Macedon ; and to dispatch ambassadors through Greece, to notify these their resolutions, to remove all ill impressions, which their former misconduct (aggravated and enforced by Philip's representations) might have made on the several states, and to inspire them with the glorious resolution of uniting against the common enemy. He again resumes the consideration of the theatrical money, but with still greater caution and reserve. In this address, critics have remarked, with pleasure and approbation, the different pictures which he draws of Philip, for the different purposes of alarming and encouraging his hearers. At first he is politic, vigilant, and intrepid ; he has risen gradually to the highest pitch of power ; and is now ready to appear before the walls of Athens, if not

Sæcr. I.

Tourreil.
Som. Olyn.
3.

Rollin.
Hist. Phil.

Book III.

not instantly opposed. Then, lest their minds might be too strongly affected by the danger, he is represented in a manner totally different. His power is by no means real or solid; his allies are ready to revolt; his kingdom is threatened with war and desolation; and he is just ready to be crushed by the first vigorous effort made to distress him. But as confidence and security were the fatal extremes, to which his hearers were the most inclined, he seems to have dreaded the danger of dwelling too long on this representation, and concludes with the dreadful image of a formidable enemy ravaging their territory, and shutting them up within their walls.

Plutarch. in.
Vit. Orat.

WAR now became the favourite topic at Athens: and Æschines, among others, loudly declared for it. This popular leader, as yet uncorrupted by the gold of Macedon, had that influence in the assembly, which was usually acquired by eloquence and abilities. His father had been banished by the thirty tyrants, which Lacedemon had imposed on Athens, when Lyfander made her mistress of that state: and his fortune, in these times of disorder, was considerably impaired. The earlier years of the son were spent in the less honourable occupations: but he had those powers and accomplishments,

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ments, which soon raised him from his state of obscurity. As an orator, "his style was full, "diffusive, and sonorous. He was a stranger to "the glowing expressions, and daring figures, of "Demosthenes, which he treats with contempt "and ridicule. But, though more simple, he "is less affecting: and, by being less contracted, has not so much strength and energy. "Or, as Quintilian expresses it, *carnis plus habet, lacertorum minus*. But, if we would "view his abilities to the greatest advantage, "we must not compare them with those of his "rival; then will his figures appear to want "neither beauty nor grandeur. His easy and "natural manner will then be thought highly "pleasing: and a just attention will discover a "good degree of force and energy in his style, "which, at first, appears only flowing and "harmonious."

SECT. I.

Pref. to
Tran. of
Philippic
Orations.

On the present occasion, he mounted the gallery, from whence the public speakers addressed the assembly, and vehemently urged the absolute necessity of vigorous and active measures. He produced one Iscander a player, a man not likely to be heard with the less favour, on account of his profession, to inform them of the practices of Philip in Arcadia; of which he had been lately witness; of his industry and artifice

Dem. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 5.

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artifice in forming an interest there; and of the zeal and courage with which Æschines had opposed his partisans. He expatiated on these and all the other dangerous designs of Philip; and inveighed, with great severity, against the indolence and insensibility of his countrymen. He recalled all the glory of their ancestors to their view; and insisted on the necessity of acting worthy of the state, and worthy of the sovereigns and protectors of Greece. He urged them to send out their emissaries even into the most distant regions of the earth, to raise up enemies against this aspiring and subtle prince. He then summoned the youth of Athens to the temple consecrated to Agraulas, one of the daughters of Cecrops; and there engaged them, by a solemn oath, to consider Philip as their implacable enemy. Thus were hostilities declared in form on the part of Athens. Eubulus himself drew up a decree, whereby it was enacted, that deputies should be sent to the several states of Greece, to engage them in a common league against the Macedonian. Æschines was commissioned to go for this purpose into Arcadia. Two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all Athenian citizens, with seventeen ships of war, and transports, were granted for the relief of Olynthus. But unfortunately the command was again intrusted to Chares.

His

Philochor.
in Dionys.
Epist. ad
Amm.

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His dissolute and abandoned manners rendered him the scorn of his enemy : his avidity and extortion made him hated and dreaded by the allies : but the large sums of money, which he usually exacted from these latter, enabled him to pay a number of popular leaders, who supported his interest in the assembly, and screened him from all the consequences of his misconduct.

SECT. I.

PHILIP, in the mean time, vigorously pushed on the siege of Olynthus. Some sallies were made, in which the besieged seemed to have the advantage, as Euthycrates and Lasthenes, the two new commanders of their cavalry, concealed their treacherous intelligence with Philip by these successes, which were in reality concerted. They at length marched out, at the head of five hundred horse, to attack one of the enemy's posts. The Macedonians fled at the first onset; and they abandoned themselves to the pursuit : thus leading their troops into the ambush which had been before prepared for them. They now found themselves surrounded by a numerous force, and the whole body of horse was obliged to lay down their arms, and to surrender prisoners of war.

Dem. de fals.
Leg. sect.
75.

THIS body had been of considerable service to the Olynthians. It had been employed in cutting

Oliv. vol.
2. p. 22.

Book III.

Olymp. 108.
Y. 1.

cutting off convoys, and making various excursions into the adjacent districts, as the Macedonians had not been able to surround the town entirely. This fatal loss therefore, together with the traiterous correspondence carried on within the town, soon opened the gates, and made Philip complete master of Olynthus [A].

Thucyd. 1.
1.Plut. de Ira
cohibenda,
p. 558.

THE inhabitants, who had but just now enjoyed a considerable share of power, riches, and magnificence, were, in a moment, reduced to the abject and miserable condition of slaves. Their beautiful and stately edifices were demolished; and their city, whose elegance and situation were celebrated through Greece, was now razed to the foundations. Spectators looked on with grief and commiseration, and the news was every-where received with indignation and surprise. "Hath Philip destroyed Olynthus," said a witness of this melancholy event: "He

[A] THE particulars of the art and address by which the two principal traitors recommended themselves to the attention and confidence of their countrymen; the manner in which they conducted their infamous design; and the circumstances of their betraying the town to the besieger; might have probably been worthy of being exactly and minutely recorded. But these, and many other particulars relative to the transactions of Philip, which might have afforded lessons of instruction, highly useful and important, are unhappily lost to posterity; or, at most, but imperfectly related, or alluded to by the Athenian orators.

" himself

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“himself never raised such a city.” But the mind, possessed with an insatiable ambition, cannot attend to the sollicitations of its more humane and benevolent affections: His schemes of greatness demanded the total ruin of this state: and to such schemes the conquerors and scourges of mankind are ever known to make all other considerations yield.

Sect. I.

THE whole body of Olynthians, without distinction, without regard to condition, sex, or age, was now set up to public auction, and sold to any of the Greeks that were inclined to purchase. Philip was present at this sale, where Aristotle, the philosopher, is accused of assisting and aggravating the misfortunes of a people, with whom he had lived in friendship, by pointing out the richest of the inhabitants, and instructing Philip to extort that treasure which they might have concealed in this public distress, and to demand exorbitant ransoms. An Olynthian, who was going to be set up among others, loudly demanded his liberty, declaring, that he was a friend of the king, and desiring to be brought near him, that he might approve what he asserted. Philip ordered him to advance, and the man begged him, in a whisper, to let fall the skirt of his robe, for that, at present, he was exposed in a manner quite indecent. The

Diod. Sic.
L. 16. Sect.
53.

Euseb.
Praep. Ev.
lib. 15. 2.
p. 792.

Plutarch. in
Apopth.

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Dianarchus
Orat. in
Dem.

king entered into this pleasantry with the utmost condescension and good-humour. "Right!" said he, "the man is my friend, though I did not know it. Let him be set at liberty." [a]

THE news of these transactions was received at Athens with shame and sorrow. The ambition and cruelty of Philip now raised their utmost indignation; and the misfortunes of their allies, when it was too late, awakened all their sentiments of humanity. Those few inhabitants, who escaped the general ruin, they received, and treated with the utmost tenderness. They condemned Euthymachus, one of their own citizens, to death, who had abused an Olynthian woman with the licence which masters

[B] IN the controversies of M. Seneca the lawyer, (l. 16. contr. 5.) we find it asserted, that, among those wretches of Olynthus, who were now loaded with chains, and dragged away to slavery and misery, Parrhasius, the celebrated painter, observed one, whose face had a singularity of expression which struck his fancy; that he purchased and led him home, where the inhuman artist caused him to be tormented, in order to study the different characters of pain; and, from him, drew a picture of Prometheus chained to the rock, which was deposited in the temple of Minerva at Athens. I am not sufficiently warranted to determine, whether this be a real historical fact, or a fiction framed for the sake of a debate in the schools. Pliny, who recounts the performances of this painter, (Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 36.) makes no mention of a Prometheus.

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usurped over the slaves of that sex. When Chares appeared, and offered to render an account of his conduct, they refused to hear him; and, on this occasion, he was told by Cephisodotus, that "he had too long held the people under his absolute subjection, whom he now insulted by this pretended candour and readiness to account for his actions." They endeavoured to make some amends for their former neglect of the safety of Olynthus, by thundering out the severest decrees against those traitors who had brought down ruin and desolation on that state. But other punishments were reserved for them. Some were, without distinction, involved in the general calamity. The two principal betrayers of their country, Euthykrates and Lasthenes, were the objects of contempt and detestation, even to the Macedonians. The soldiers were ever insulting, and dealing them liberally the opprobrious names of traitors, parricides, and villains. They complained to Philip, and desired his protection: but his answer completed their confusion, and plainly shewed with what abhorrence such wretches must ever expect to be received, even by those who have been served by their iniquity.

"Do not take notice of these rude, ill-mannered fellows," said Philip, "they are strangers to all civility and good-breeding. They

Sacr. I.

Aristot.
Rhet. l. 3.
c. 10.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sec.
75.

Plut. in Apophth.

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Dem. de
Cherfon.
sect. 10.

“call every thing by its proper name.” The fate of these men was worthy of their baseness: they were thus exposed to all possible insult, unprotected and despised; and either removed by a violent death, or suffered to languish under disgrace and poverty. [c]

Just. 1. 8.
c. 3.

IN Olynthus were found Menelaus and Aridæus. They were condemned by the army, and instantly sacrificed to Philip's jealousy, or to the security of his throne.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
58. cum
Schol.

IN honour of this important conquest, those Olympic entertainments (so were they called) which Archelaus, a prince of Macedon, had instituted, and which were continued in the city of Dium for the space of nine days, in honour of the muses, were now celebrated by Philip, at his return to Macedon, with a magnificence entirely new. But his views were not confined to the ostentatious display of his wealth and grandeur, or the enjoyment of pleasure and enter-

Oliv. 1. 8.
p. 28.

[c] If we may rely on the representations of Demosthenes, these men were sufficiently warned of their fate, by the manner in which Philip treated those who had already served him in the same infamous way. The orator ascribes his success at Amphipolis and Pydna to treachery, and insinuates, that the traitors were repaid as their baseness merited.

OLYNT. 3. sect. 3.
tainment.

tainment. These games were, on the contrary, made the occasion of confirming his old friendships, and acquiring new. The concourse which attended them was received with all politeness and kindness; and entertained at public feasts, where Philip did the honours of his palace with all due elegance and grandeur. These feasts were usually concluded, by presenting his guests with a cup, in which he had first drank to them, according to the Grecian custom, or with some other mark of his munificence: and, on one of these occasions, he observed, that Satyrus, the celebrated actor, whom he held in great esteem, did not appear to partake in the general festivity, nor to desire any token of his friendship. "Has Satyrus nothing to ask?" said Philip; "doth he doubt my generosity, or imagine that I have conceived some particular offence at him?" "The things which others seem so earnest to obtain," replied Satyrus, "are to me intirely indifferent. That which would gratify me in the highest degree, my prince could grant with the greatest ease: but, alas! I fear he will refuse it." Philip gaily pressed him to speak his request boldly, and to put his friendship to the proof; for that he should deny him nothing. Thus encouraged he addressed himself in this manner to the king: "Apollophanes, of Pydna, was my friend and

SECT. I.

Diod. Sic.
lib. 16, sect.
55.

Dem. de fal.
Lect. sect.
58. cum
Schol.

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“ host. When he was killed, his relations sent
 “ his two young daughters to Olynthus, as to
 “ a place of security. There were they taken
 “ when just arrived at the marriageable age:
 “ and are now groaning under the weight of
 “ captivity and slavery, employed in all the
 “ menial offices to which their unhappy fate has
 “ subjected those helpless creatures. These are
 “ the presents I request; and these I conjure
 “ you to bestow upon me. But, first, know
 “ what it is I ask. I expect, I wish for, no
 “ advantage from them. I disdain all inten-
 “ tions unworthy of me, and unworthy of their
 “ father. No! my desire is to give them such
 “ portions as may enable them to marry hap-
 “ pily.”

Dem. de fal.
 Leg. sect.
 58. cum
 Schol.

THE beginning of this speech excited the at-
 tention of the whole company. Apollophanes
 was known to have been extremely obnoxious
 to Philip, as he had been an accomplice in the
 murder of his brother Alexander. The con-
 clusion was pleasing and astonishing; and their
 esteem and admiration broke instantly forth,
 in the loudest acclamations and applauses.
 Philip was affected by this greatness and good-
 ness of mind, which his guest discovered; he
 readily granted his petition, and his munificence
 enabled Satyrus to pay the portions.

THE

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THE taking of Olynthus gave Philip an accession of territory highly convenient and important. It made him master of the whole Chalcidic region, a tract in itself of considerable moment; it divided Thrace, and separated the country subject to Athens, from that which Cersobleptes reserved to himself. The kingdom of Philip, including Thessaly, which he in effect commanded, was now bounded by Phœcis on the south-west, and on the north-east by the dominions of Cersobleptes. But, on each side, were numbers in the Athenian interest. This state was now the only great enemy he had to encounter, the only material obstacle to his design of commanding all Greece. Its ministers were soliciting the several Grecian powers to unite with them against him. It was his part, if possible, to detach them from these connexions; and to engage them to conclude a peace with him separate from the other states. He knew that indolence and self-enjoyment were still predominant at Athens; and that vigour and resolution, on his part, would soon make them weary of the war, on which they seemed at present totally intent. These he was therefore determined to exert. His ships of war were sent to sea to harass and distress their trade: their merchants were continually falling a prey to these; and their tributaries and de-

Strabo. l. 1.

Oliv. l. 3.

P. 34.

pendent islands were ever subject to his incursions and depredations. From comparing several passages in the Athenian orators, which hint at some transactions of this prince, not particularly recorded, it seems to me probable, that, during the course of the Olynthian war, his fleet was employed in making some descents on Lemnus and Imbrus, islands dependent on Athens, in order (possibly) to divert the attention of the Athenians from the defence of Olynthus. Here several Athenian citizens were made prisoners, and carried off in chains to Macedon. The Macedonian fleet then took its course towards the south, and surprised some Athenian vessels at anchor near the cape of Gerastus (which might have been intended for the relief of Imbrus) and these were instantly seized and rifled. Encouraged by this success, and the rich spoil which had been thus obtained, Philip now seems to have determined to continue these depredations. The bad conduct of Chares had greatly weakened the naval power of Athens, and left the sea open to the Macedonians, who boldly sailed to the very coast of Attica, and, having made a descent on Marathon, insulted the Athenians, by taking their sacred galley, as it was called; which was destined to be sent out, on all extraordinary emergencies, with advices and directions

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directions to their commanders [D]. A body of Athenian cavalry, under the command of Diotimus, attempted to oppose this inroad, but soon threw down their arms, and fled shamefully before

SECT. I.

[D] THE learned reader need not be informed, that these transactions are mentioned in the oration, called the first Philippic of Demosthenes; and that their date is here settled upon a supposition, that what is so intitled in the copies and editions of Demosthenes, is really two distinct orations, spoken on different occasions, and at different times. In a former work I endeavoured to establish this opinion by some (at least) probable arguments. It must be confirmed beyond controversy, could it be proved that these transactions were not prior to the date of Demosthenes's first oration against Philip; but that I have placed them nearer to their true time, than the commentators and interpreters of this orator.—Lucchesini fixes them to the third year of the one hundredth and fifth Olympiad, immediately after the reduction of Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea. But, besides that he assigns no authority for this opinion from history, it seems irreconcilable to the conduct and policy of Philip at that time, who (whatever were his actions) professed to be at peace with Athens; amused that state with promises of giving up Amphipolis; and, in his attack of Pydna and Potidaea, affected only to act as ally to Olynthus. Olivier dates them somewhat later in the second year of the one hundred and sixth Olympiad, in the archonship of Diotimus. He collects this from a decree preserved in the oration of Demosthenes on the crown, (Sect. 34.) which was occasioned by the invasion of Attica, and in which Diotimus is mentioned as commander of the Athenian cavalry. But, as it appears that it was not consistent with the office of archon to be employed in such a command (of which the reader may be at once satisfied, by consulting any of the authors who have

Book III. fore the enemy; while the forces of Macedonia, having thus alarmed the Athenians in their very city, again set sail, and proceeded to the isle of Salamis. Here they again defeated a detachment

have treated of the constitution and polity of Athens) this opinion is overturned by the only authority which can be produced to confirm it. Had the name of the archon Επονομιε been used in the dates of those decrees, which Demosthenes quotes in the above-mentioned oration, the difficulty would be cleared at once: but, as this is not the case, we are obliged to have recourse to what other lights may be afforded. And first, before the author is condemned of rashness and presumption, the learned reader is intreated to attend to the following passage in Æschines on the embassy, (sect. 24.) Φιλίππος δὲ ἐπράδεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, οὐκ ἔτι ὑπὲρ Ἀμφικυπλίας πόλεος ἡμᾶς ἡγωνίστο, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ ΛΗΜΝΟΥ καὶ ἸΜΒΡΟΥ καὶ Σκέρου, τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀνημέλων; ἐξέλιπον δὲ Χερσονήσου ἡμῶν οἱ πόλεις, τὴν οὖσαν ἐπικολοῦμεν Ἀθηναίων. — Οἱ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΙ ΗΞΑΝ, ΕΝ ΟΙΣ ΗΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΕΤΕΝΟΝΤΟ ΛΟΓΟΙ. “Philip issues out from Macedonia; no longer contends with you for Amphipolis, but now attacks LEMNUS and IMBRUS, our undoubted dominions. Our citizens, in the Chersonesus, are obliged to abandon their settlements in that country, to which our right was fully and amply acknowledged, &c.—THESE WERE THE TIMES, such the circumstances of the state, WHEN A PEACE BEGAN TO BE FIRST MENTIONED.”

Another passage in Demosthenes (Exord. 32.) is also worthy of notice: — Ἐφύπιοδεν ἄνωγ ἐκ τῶν περιληλυθῶτων χρόνων, κατέλειπον τριήρεις, ἐπιδόσαν, ἐσφίξαν· πάντα ταῦτα ἤδη ἂν τριῶν ἡμετέρων ἢ πλείε (ἂν σιωπῶσθαι τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ σχῶσιν ἡσυχίας ἱκανοί) παρὸν ἔστι· καίροι οὖν εἶναι πράττειν ὑπολήψιοδεν ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐν Ἑλλασσῶνι Φιλίππον ἡκούσαμεν, συνέβη, καὶ πάλιν ἡμεῖς Εἰς ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΑ ΤΡΙΗΡΕΙΣ Αἱ Αἰεττοπιάδες ΠΡΟΕΒΕΛΧΟΝ. — “You will

ment commanded by Charidemus, and thus returned home in triumph, laden with the spoils of their enemy.

In Euboea, the place of all others where Athens could be most deeply wounded, Philip determined to make one attempt more. Favoured as he was by the disposition of the inhabitants, who were many of them secret enemies to Athens, he had occasion for no other pretence, but that of freeing the island from the Athenian tyranny. Molossus, who was appointed to succeed Phocion in the command of the Athenian forces in Euboea, conducted himself in such a manner, as to encourage Philip to this

“ will then, as in times past, make magnificent decrees for
“ equipping your fleet, arming your citizens, and raising
“ your subsidies; all which shall, in three or five days
“ (should the enemy seem quieted, and no longer disposed
“ to molest you) be pronounced unnecessary, as was the case
“ when we heard that Philip was at the Hellespont; and
“ again, when the piratical ships made the descent at Marathon.”—When the reader has perused that part of the present history, which is contained in this and the following sections, he will be the better enabled to judge how far these passages favour my opinion; and, by comparing the transactions there related, and authentically attested, with the passages here quoted from the Athenian orators, he will determine whether the author hath been guilty of an unwarrantable presumption in discarding the authority of the copies of Demosthenes, and even of those critics and commentators, to whose learned and judicious labours he is considerably indebted.

attempt.

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Oliv. l. 8.
p. 36.Aeschin. in
Ctes. sect.
33.

attempt. He first made himself hated, and afterwards despised. Hipparchus had succeeded Plutarch in the government of Eretria: and his years and reputation gave credit to the Macedonian interest, which he espoused from a particular esteem for Philip, and a sincere persuasion, that he should really serve his country, by rendering it dependent on this prince. Callias, the Chalcidian, was screened, by his interest among the popular leaders at Athens, from the resentment due to his late conduct; and now again appeared in Euboea, an active and vigorous manager for the king of Macedon. He assembled a kind of convention of the different states at Chalcis, under pretence of settling the affairs, and composing the disorders, of Euboea; but, in reality, to concert measures for ruining the Athenian interest. Thence he passed over to the court of Macedon, to give an account of his success. Here he displayed and magnified his services, which were graciously received, and all possible assurances of support and assistance readily given to him. Philip's partisans in Euboea now collected and strengthened themselves; his forces were sent into the island; and his agents every-where employed to gain the people over to his interest; and to drive out and destroy all those who attempted to oppose him.

MOLLOSSUS

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MOLossus had neither strength nor abilities to encounter this formidable association; nor did he ever once think of defeating it, till it was already formed completely, and prepared to act. Then, at length, he took the field; but quickly found himself betrayed, even by those who had given him the strongest assurances of their attachment: such a general corruption had Philip's secret practices produced. He was surrounded and taken prisoner, with all his army; which, when plundered by the Euboeans, was suffered to pass over into Attica, loaded with all the ignominy of this defeat.

SECT. I.

Plutarch. in
Phocion.

AND now Philip's party was triumphant; and the whole island prepared to submit to his regulation. The government of Eretria was placed in the hands of Clitarchus, a man devoted intirely to the king of Macedon. And, while he thus established his power in a place, which, by its situation, commanded as it were the country of Attica, at Oreum, over-against Scyathus, an island dependent on Athens, he procured the government for Philistides, who had formerly headed the Theban party in Euboea, and who, by his conduct and character, was the terrour and detestation of all good men. Thus did this vigilant prince establish such an interest, as might effectually facilitate the future subjection
of

Dem. de
Cherso.
sect. 9.

Phil. 3.
sect. 7.

Book III. of that island; although, at present, he pretended only a tender regard to its freedom and tranquillity.

It could not but be imagined, that the Athenians would take some measures for opposing this settlement, and for supporting their interest and power in a place of such consequence to the welfare and security of Attica. The Euboean cities were now under the direction of men ready to obey the dictates of the king of Macedon; the instruments of his policy, who had, by long experience, become perfectly acquainted with the means of amusing the Athenians. By his direction, probably, ambassadors were now sent, in the name of these states, to Athens, to endeavour to heal all late breaches, to effect an accommodation, and, particularly, to possess the Athenians with favourable opinions of Philip's intentions, who, they declared, was extremely desirous of putting an end to all quarrels, and making a peace on such terms as should demonstrate his integrity and respect for their state. Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, two celebrated actors, (the latter also noted as a dramatic poet) who had been gained over to the interest of Philip by his favours and presents, were employed to confirm these representations, and to influence the people in favour of their master. Neoptolemus had,

*Æschin.
de fal. Leg.
sect. 7.*

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had, some time before, gone to Macedon, under pretence of collecting some debts, but, in reality, to concert with Philip the means of serving and obliging him in the Athenian assembly. Demosthenes, who saw through his designs, endeavoured to lay them open to his countrymen; and to guard them against his artifices: but was soon silenced by the friends of Neoptolemus, who cried out, that nothing but malice, officious baseness, or secret enmity, could prompt any man to accuse him, or to draw invidious inferences from his correspondence with Macedon, to which he was not only induced by his private interest, but by a regard to his country, as, by transferring his effects from Macedon to Athens, he was the better enabled to contribute to the exigencies of the state. The dispositions of the people on this occasion, are best described by Demosthenes *: "Had ye been spectators in the
" theatre, and not engaged in affairs of the
" highest and most intimate concernment to the
" public, ye could not have heard him with more
" indulgence, nor me with more resentment."

Sicv. I.

Dem. Orat.
de Pace,
sect. a.

* Orat. de
Pace.

Thus the temper of this people, ever violent, but ever varying, led them from peace to war, and from war to peace, just as the breath of some popular speaker fired their national vanity, or soothed their love of ease and indolence.

These

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Dem. de fal.

Leg. sect. 5.

These latter passions were just going to prevail, when Æschines returned from his embassy, and gave a new direction to their minds. He had assembled the great council of Arcadians at Megalopolis; and prevailed on that people to engage to bear arms against Philip; and now appeared to give an account of his success. He displayed the services which he had performed on this occasion; enlarged on the opposition he had been obliged to combat from Philip's agents; inveighed, with great bitterness, against the corrupt practices of those hireling wretches, who were labouring, not only to destroy their own countries, but to bring down universal ruin on the whole nation of Greece: he assured the people, that the Arcadians, roused and inflamed by his remonstrances, expressed all possible satisfaction at that spirit, that true zeal for the general cause of Greece, which now began to appear at Athens. He harangued, with all possible acrimony, against Philip: he had beheld, he said, on his return, a sight capable of melting them to pity, at the calamities of Greece, and of inspiring them with fury and indignation against the Barbarian; a body of young Olynthians, of both sexes, to the number of about thirty, driven, like a herd of cattle, by one of Philip's officers, as a present to some of his creatures. He dwelt on the misery of these their late allies, and the unparalleled

unparalleled inhumanity of their conqueror; and concluded with recommending to them to send their envoys to confirm the Arcadians in their present zealous dispositions, and to procure the justly merited punishment for those who still presumed to support the Macedonian interest in that country.

Sect. I.

WAR and revenge now echoed through the assembly. The people were more exasperated, and more violent, than ever: the Macedonian emissaries and partisans were silenced and dismayed, and began to look on all their industry and artifice as wholly ineffectual; when one single act of Philip's politeness, or, to speak more properly, of his policy, raised his creatures from their despair, and gave another turn to the dispositions of the Athenians.

A MAN of some eminence at Athens, whose name was Phrynon, had assisted at the celebration of the famous Olympic games, which collected the Greeks from all parts, every fourth year, to Elis. In this time of universal festivity all wars ceased, and a general truce was observed for fifteen days. Yet some Macedonian soldiers, either ignorant, or in contempt of this truce, seized and plundered Phrynon; and obliged him to purchase his liberty by a considerable ransom.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 7.

Book III.

At his return to Athens, he applied to the people, and requested to be sent with a public character into Macedon, that he might have an opportunity of soliciting restitution of the effects which had been taken from him. In the course of all the Grecian wars, heralds and ambassadors were ever passing from one to another party, to settle the exchange of prisoners, and for other like purposes. On this occasion therefore, Phrynon was, according to his desire, sent, on some public occasions, to Macedon, and Ctesiphon appointed for his colleague. They were received by Philip with his usual artful affability, and all his specious shews of openness, candour, and affection. He assured Phrynon, that his soldiers had acted from ignorance and misapprehension, and ordered, that his effects should be all instantly restored. He entertained them at his table, where he gave them every possible instance of his attention and respect; and, at parting, declared, in a most engaging manner, that it was with greatest concern he found himself involved in a war with Athens; that, however he might have been unfortunately misconceived or misrepresented, he had ever entertained the most favourable intentions towards the state, and that nothing could give him greater pleasure, than to see a speedy and effectual accommodation of all the disputes now unhappily subsisting between them.

PHRYNON

PHRYNON and Ctesiphon were now returned, highly flattered by the confidence which Philip appeared to repose in them. This, possibly, contributed to deceive them into an opinion of his candour and sincerity; and their vanity prompted them to display to the assembly the friendship and regard which Philip expressed for them, and for the state; on which they enlarged, as persons in strict intimacy with this prince, and well acquainted with his sentiments and dispositions. They were heard with satisfaction and applause. All the late resolutions, all the preparations for war, were, in an instant, forgotten: and Philocrates, a man attached to the Macedonian interest, and suspected equally by Æschines and Demosthenes, moved the assembly, that an herald and ambassadors should be sent to Philip, to discover his intentions, and to make him propositions for a peace. This motion was, at first, attacked judicially by one Lycinus: on which occasion Demosthenes, in a long and elaborate defence, supported the cause of Philocrates, who, by a fit of sickness, was prevented from appearing before the assembly.

SECT. I.

Æschin. de
fal. leg.
sect. 7.

THIS conduct of Demosthenes is urged as an instance of his inconsistency and insincerity. But it must be observed, that, besides the indolent and corrupted part of Athens, there was

Book III.

*Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 54.*

another party equally averse to war, but from different principles. They saw the power and the vigour of Philip; they were sensible of the weakness and degeneracy of their countrymen; they reflected, that, from the time that they had attempted to recover Amphipolis, no less than fifteen hundred talents had been expended, to no purpose, except to gratify the avarice of some foreign commanders, who had been taken into their service, and who had ever appeared more attentive to their private interest, than to the glory of Athens. One hundred vessels had been lost; seventy-five dependent cities, most of which had been conquered in Thrace by Timotheus, had fallen into the hands of the enemy; Olynthus was destroyed, and Euboea revolted; the several Grecian states harassed and wasted by their ill-judged quarrels, and alienated from each other by their jealousies and suspicions; and Philip more admired, more dreaded, and more respected, than ever. They concluded, therefore, that the state of Athens was rather concerned to secure what share of power was left to her, than to entertain notions of revenge; or of reducing an enemy too active, too politic, and too strong for a weakened, distracted, and corrupted people to contend with. This was the opinion of Phocion, and other citizens of eminence and character; and some

some attention was due to the sentiments of such men. Possibly they who had the highest opinion of the power of Athens, if duly and faithfully exerted, and who were most firmly persuaded of the expediency and necessity of opposing their rival, might still have thought it just and reasonable to hear, at least, what terms of accommodation he might propose. This would convince the Grecians of their candour and moderation; the power of rejecting them was still reserved, and, if unreasonable and unjust, they would help to undeceive those who were blinded by Philip's artful professions, and afford new incitements to a vigorous opposition. But, whatever might have been the motives of Demosthenes, the people approved of his arguments: the decree proposed by Philocrates was confirmed; and the accuser had scarcely the fifth part of the suffrages.

SECT. I.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 7.

IN the course of these transactions, another incident happened to confirm the Athenians in their present pacific dispositions. At the time when Olynthus was taken, some of their citizens were found in the town, and brought prisoners to Macedon: among whom were Stratocles and Eucratus, two Athenians of considerable note. The relations of these men applied to the assembly, and requested, that they might

SECT. 2.

Book III.

be taken care of in the treaty which they now seemed disposed to transact. Demosthenes and Philocrates supported their application; and Aristodemus [E], whose profession, as a player, made him extremely agreeable to Philip, was immediately commissioned to go to Macedon, and to treat particularly about their release. He was probably more engaged in paying his court, than in executing his commission: and, at his re-

[E] THIS prince, who ever studied to maintain an extensive reputation, wisely judged nothing could more contribute to this, than to shew an extraordinary regard to the polite arts, and to their professors of every kind. The passion for the theatre, which prevailed in Greece, naturally introduced the performers to the notice and regard of the public: and, in proportion as this passion became violent, they met with an extraordinary degree of respect, and it became fashionable to caress them: and, possibly, Philip did not think it beneath him to flatter the Greeks, by conforming to their fashions. Besides, the allusions and particular applications of passages in the tragic writers to the affairs and persons which might, at any time, be the objects of general attention, an usual practice on the Greek stage, put the reputations of great men, in some measure, in the power of actors, and made it their interest to court them: as, by dwelling on, and pointing out, particular passages, which might afford apposite and ingenious applications to the circumstances and characters of their times, they might influence their audience, in a manner which cannot be surprising, when we consider that the Greeks were frequently guided more by imagination than judgement,

turn,

turn, either neglected to give an account of it, or deferred it on purpose, till he should be expressly called on, that the report, which he had determined to make, might be the less suspected. In the mean time, Stratocles returns to Athens, being dismissed by Philip without any ransom, and with the highest expressions of respect. Possessed with this instance of politeness and generosity, he lavishes his encomiums on Philip, repeats the assurances of his kind and amicable intentions to Athens, and inveighs against Aristodemus for neglecting to report the success of his embassy. And now Aristodemus was summoned to give an account of his negotiation before the senate. Here he expatiated on the merits, the candour, the sincerity, and the benevolence of Philip, on his regard and respect for Athens; and declared, that this prince was not only ready to conclude a peace, but to enter into a strict alliance with the state. The same representations he made to the assembly of the people, who heard them with the utmost satisfaction: and Demosthenes himself appeared so well satisfied with the conduct of Aristodemus, that he moved, and the assembly decreed, that he should be honoured with a golden crown, the usual reward of those who had acquitted themselves with honour in the administration of public affairs.

Book III.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 9.

NOTHING now remained, but to nominate the persons to whom this important transaction was to be committed, and on whose abilities the people might rely, to make their overtures at Macedon, and to defend the interests of their country in an emergency which demanded the utmost address and circumspection. Ten Athenian citizens were now chosen for this purpose, Ctesiphon, Phrynon, Philocrates, Jatrocles, Nauficles, Cimon, Demosthenes, Dercyllus, Æschines, and Aristodemus. To these were added Agalocreon of Tenedos, on the part of the allied cities and states dependent upon Athens, who was to act as their representative, and to take care of their particular interests.

Oliv. l. 9.
p. 52.
Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 18.

THE ten were all men of distinction, and respectable by their condition or accomplishments. Ctesiphon by his age and experience, and weight in the assembly; Phrynon by his riches; Cimon by his illustrious birth; Nauficles and Dercyllus by the public offices which they had discharged. Jatrocles was also a person of figure, and had ever been in strict connexion with Æschines. Æschines himself was noted for his genius, memory, and eloquence; and, by that zeal which he had already expressed against the Macedonian, fully persuaded the people of his integrity, and inspired them with exalted expectations

Dem. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 5.

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pectations from his conduct in this commission. Demosthenes was now universally celebrated and admired, as a public speaker and able politician. Philocrates, besides his facility in speaking, was remarkable for his gaiety in social life, a qualification of no small consequence at the court of Macedon: and Aristodemus added to a most advantageous person all the charms of wit and politeness, and all the force and beauty of a just and graceful elocution.

Sect. I.

Lucian. in
vit. Dem.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 21.

DEMOSTHENES appeared particularly intent on the speedy execution of this commission. To prevent all possible delay or interruption, he moved the people to send deputations to some cities, where Aristodemus had obliged himself to perform on the stage under some particular penalties, to apologize for his absence, and to get those penalties remitted. [F]

Sect. 9.

[F] THE idea of pomp and dignity, which we are accustomed to annex to that of an ambassador, may make it appear very extraordinary that a player should be intrusted with such a commission, whose profession was undoubtedly considered by the Athenians as of the less honourable kind, (whatever favours might be lavished on the ministers of their darling pleasures, in these times of luxury;) for we find Demosthenes frequently speaking with contempt of their profession.—But, in a state purely democratical, the abilities were considered, and not the station of those who were intrusted with the conduct of public affairs. We find,

Book III. find, in the case of Demades, that a common boat-man was enabled to raise himself to some of the highest offices in the state. Nor must we imagine, that the deputies of this republic were at all similar to the representatives of sovereign princes in modern times. They were sent out without parade, train, or attendants, dignified only by being citizens of Athens. Demosthenes (de falsa Leg. sect. 47.) mentions it as an extraordinary instance of extravagance, that five such deputies had an appointment of one thousand drachmae, that is, 32 l. 5 s. 10 d. for three months: not a fifth part of what Amoebaeus received, *per diem*, for singing in the theatre at Athens.

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THE LIFE AND REIGN OF
BOOK THE THIRD.

SECTION II.

WHILE Athens was thus preparing all matters for an accommodation, Philip was employed in the pursuit of his Thracian conquests, which were greatly facilitated by the reduction of Olynthus. He was already master of the promontories of Pallènè and Ampelus; and had now only to re-unite that of Athos, which Xerxes had separated, and which commanded the gulphs of Singis and Strymon. He took the cities of Ganos Ergiskè, and some others of no considerable name; and confined Cersobleptes to the sacred mount; the town which the statue of Alexander would have held in its hand, had it been cut out of mount Athos, according to the famous project of the statuary; and which, at this day, bears the same name. Parmenio was at the same time in Thessaly, supporting the Pharsalians, the devoted friends of Philip, in their pretensions to Halus, whose inhabitants inclined to the Athenian interest, and, of consequence, were obnoxious to Philip. The
Pharsalians

Book III.
SECT. II.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
30.

Demost. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 43.

BOOK III. Pharfalians seemed to have claimed Halus as their property; while the Halians asserted their own independence, and the king of Macedon, to support his friends, and weaken the interest of his enemies, sent his forces into Thessaly, under pretence of forcing them to acknowledge their rightful sovereigns. This city was seated on the Pthiotis, between the mountains Othrys and Thymprestes: its walls were washed by the river Amphryssus: its situation was strong, and enabled it to sustain a long siege.

Demost. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 48.

THE Athenian deputies passed through the Macedonian army, which had invested Halus, without waiting the return of the herald, who had been sent to demand their safe-conduct; and from thence proceeded to Pagasae. Still they continued their progress, and, at Larissa, met the herald returning with their passport, and, without delay, proceeded towards Macedon. From the first moment of their departure, the principal ambassadors seem to have betrayed a mutual diffidence and suspicion of each other. Each seemed more solicitous to deprive his colleague of any honour which might attend this negotiation, and to shift off any disgrace from himself, than to unite in one cordial and sincere resolution of attending to the public interests.

Ib. sect. 6.

Æschines is said, by Demosthenes, to have expressed

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pressed his suspicions of the integrity of Philocrates, and to have spoken of him as a man from whom they might expect the most abandoned and traitorous conduct: and, if we may believe Æschines, Demosthenes, through the the whole journey, betrayed the utmost dissatisfaction at those who were joined with him in the commission; and, by a peculiar moroseness, had rendered himself so disagreeable to them, that they would have excluded him from their society, had not Agalocreon and Jatrocles interposed, and persuaded them to endure his severity of temper. In some of their conversations, in which they were concerting the best manner of executing their commission, Cimon expressed his apprehensions of Philip's art and power of speaking. But these apprehensions, if we may believe Æschines, were treated with great contempt by Demosthenes; who insisted, in the most confident manner, that he had ample and irresistible matter to urge: that he should trace the contests between Athens and Macedon from the earliest date; establish the right of his country to Amphipolis by the fullest and clearest proofs, and deprive Philip of all power of objection or reply [A]: that he had no doubt but that

SECT. II.

Æschin.
de fal. Leg.
sect. 10.

[A] THE expression which Demosthenes is said, by his rival, to have used on this occasion, is in the highest degree rude

Book III.

that this prince would feel the whole force of his remonstrances; that this city should be given up to the Athenians, and that Leosthenes should also be resigned into their hands, whom the ambassadors were commissioned to demand from Philip; but whether as a criminal, in order to be brought to justice; or as a valuable citizen, whom they affected to consider as detained at Macedon against his will; we are not sufficiently warranted to determine.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 12, 13,
24.

THEY were now arrived, and introduced to an audience. As it had been agreed between them, they spake in order according to their ages; all with the usual Attic elegance; but Æschines more copiously than any of those who preceded him. He reminded Philip of the many acts of kindness which the Athenians had done to his predecessors the kings of Macedon; to his own family, and to himself, when Pausanias had first attempted to usurp the throne; and of the interest and power which Pausanias had acquired in Macedon; of the weak and distressed condition of the children of king Amyntas, the solicitations of Eurydicè, and the generous interposition of Iphicrates. He touch-

rude and insolent, ὥστε ἀπορῥᾶψαι το Φιλίππου στόμα ὀλοσχον ἀέροχον, *that he would sew up Philip's mouth with a dry bulrush.*

ed

ed on the ungrateful returns made to Athens by Ptolomy and Perdiccas, in disputing their pretensions to Amphipolis; on the greatness of mind, which his countrymen had discovered, in granting a truce to Perdiccas, notwithstanding their victories and advantages; and, as it was maliciously asserted, that Callisthenes had been put to death for concluding this truce, he declared, that other causes had produced this sentence. He dwelt on the unreasonableness of those hostilities, which Philip himself had committed against the Athenians; and traced their right to Amphipolis, from the earliest ages; a right acknowledged by Amyntas himself in the general assembly of the Grecians: he observed, that a city, which had never been taken in any war against Athens, could not possibly be held by the right of conquest: and that Philip had really taken an Athenian city from the Amphipolitans, which never could be construed as an acquisition won from the Athenians.

Sacr. II.

DEMOSTHENES was the youngest, and consequently the last to speak. He now stood before a prince, whom he was conscious he had frequently spoken of with the greatest severity, and who, he knew, was thoroughly informed of every thing said or done at Athens. He was to contend with a complete master in his own

Æchin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 26.

Book III. art : and the reputation of the great Athenian orator, who was ever lancing the bolts of his eloquence against the king, must have raised a solemn attention in the court : even the ambassadors themselves were curious to hear those irresistible remonstrances which the orator is said to have promised with the greatest confidence, and which Philip and his courtiers were, by this time, warned to expect. All was suspense and eager curiosity : and every man now waited in silence for some extraordinary instance of force and dignity of speaking. But he who had so frequently braved all the tumult and opposition of an Athenian assembly, was, in this new scene, in an instant disconcerted and confounded. He began in a manner utterly unworthy of his reputation, obscure, ungraceful, and hesitating : his terror and embarrassment still increased : and scarcely had he uttered a few broken and interrupted sentences, when his powers totally failed him ; and he stood before the assembly, utterly unable to proceed. Philip saw his distress, and, with all imaginable politeness, endeavoured to relieve it. He told him with that condescension and good-nature, which he knew so well to affect, that, at his court, he need be under no apprehensions : he was not now before an assembly of his countrymen, where he might expect some fatal consequences, if his hearers were not pleased :

pleased: he begged he would take time to re-
collect himself, and pursue his intended dis-
course. Demosthenes attempted to proceed;
but his confusion still continued; he appeared
still embarrassed, and was soon obliged to be
again silent. The ambassadors were then or-
dered to withdraw.

DEMOSTHENES, mortified no doubt by the
weakness which he had just now discovered, endea-
voured to give vent to his chagrin, by condemn-
ing the conduct of the other ministers. He told
Æschines, with a face of passion and vexation, that
he had utterly ruined the state and her allies.
When this assertion was received with general
astonishment, "What!" said he, "have you
"forgotten the present state of Athens: how
"greatly the people have been harassed by war,
"and how ardently they wish for peace? Are
"those magnificent preparations capable of
"elating you, which have been decreed, but
"not yet made? You have now so irritated
"Philip, and spoken so severely, that, instead
"of ending the war by an happy accommoda-
"tion, you may expect a favourable and pa-
"cific disposition changed into the most violent
"and hostile resentment."

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 15.

BEFORE an answer could be given, they were
again called in; and Philip now replied to their

Ibid.

Book III.

representations and remonstrances one by one, with the greatest order, strength, and perspicuity. He addressed himself particularly to Æschines, and dwelt on his speech with peculiar copiousness and accuracy, but in such a manner, if we may believe this minister, as plainly shewed, that the king did not consider him as a fomentor of the war: and that the fears which Demosthenes expressed were groundless at least, if not malicious. Any thing which this latter speaker might have represented in his short and confused address, was either of too little moment to deserve an answer, or was passed over by Philip with a contemptuous disregard, affected on purpose to mortify his great enemy, and to remind the world, that the man who had ever inveighed with the utmost virulence against him, had not been able, on this occasion, when his allegations were to be delivered without acrimony, to offer any thing which merited the least reply or notice. He concluded with the usual declarations of his candid intentions, and of his desire to live for the future in strict amity with Athens. He then invited them to an entertainment (where Demosthenes is said, by his rival orator, to have still behaved with great weakness and confusion.) And, having received many tokens of honour and esteem, they were dismissed with letters, wherein Philip assured the

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the Athenians, that his dispositions were sincerely pacific; and that, as soon as they should consent to enter into an alliance with him, they should be particularly informed of those instances of friendship and affection, which they might expect from his real regard and esteem for Athens.

SECT. II.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
14.

THE disadvantageous manner in which Demosthenes had now appeared at the court of Macedon, must have given him no small uneasiness; and, if fully represented at Athens, he was sensible, must sink him greatly in the opinion of his countrymen. The dissatisfactions which he had betrayed, and the suspicions which he had expressed of his colleagues, were now likely to prove highly prejudicial to him, and might reasonably be expected to irritate them, and to prompt them to give no very favourable account of his late conduct. He therefore now found it necessary (if we may give credit to his rival) to make a total alteration in his behaviour. His severity and reserve were changed to the most obliging complaisance and obsequiousness. To each of the ambassadors apart, he took occasion to make a tender of his friendship and interest at Athens; he proposed to obtain them favours and employments; and even promised acts of kindness of a private

Æschin. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 17, 18.

Book III.

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naturr. He complimented Æschines in particular on the abilities which he had lately displayed; on the strength and energy of his speech, and the happiness of his genius. Such were the arts he is said to have practised from the moment of their departure. At Larissa he resumed the discourse of late transactions. He freely rallied the confusion and hesitation into which he had been betrayed; and acknowledged the eloquent and masterly manner in which the king of Macedon had spoken: and in this all the ambassadors readily concurred. Æschines observed with what exactness and precision he had, at once, answered all their allegations; and Ctesiphon cried out in transport, that, in the course of a long life, he had never met with a man of so polite and amiable a deportment. These praises were by no means pleasing to Demosthenes. "He apprehended," he said, "that they could not think it proper to make such representations to the assembly." Thus artfully endeavouring, if we may believe Æschines, to lead the ambassadors to make their report in such a manner as might serve him most effectually; and even enable him to establish his own reputation, by depreciating those of the other deputies: and, if this was his design, it was in a good measure successful. They all agreed to make the same report to the people; and

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and Æschines asserts, that Demosthenes prevailed on him, by the most vehement intreaties, to promise that he would give a favourable account of his particular conduct, and assure the Athenians, that he had spoken sufficiently on the affair of Amphipolis.

THE ambassadors, were now returned; and first appeared in the senate to give an account of their embassy, and to deliver Philip's letters. Here Demosthenes spoke loudly in praise of his colleagues, and, confirming his declarations with a solemn oath, he congratulated the senate on having chosen ambassadors, whose integrity and abilities were worthy of the state. Æschines, in particular, was the object of his encomiums; and he moved, that every one of the ministers should be honoured with a crown of sacred olive, and invited the next day to a public entertainment, according to the custom of Athens.

THEY were, in the next place, to make their report before the popular assembly, where Ctesiphon, as the oldest minister, first rose, and gave the account which had been concerted between them: to which he added many praises of the affability, politeness, and festivity of the king of Macedon, as well as of the gracefulness and dignity of his person. Æschines took

Book III.

notice of his eloquence and memory, of the acuteness and readiness with which he spake to every particular point; and added, as he had promised, that Demosthenes had taken care, as his peculiar province, to discuss the affair of Amphipolis. The people seemed pleased with the representations of their ambassadors, and were particularly warm in their applauses of Æschines; when, last of all, Demosthenes arose. "I am surprised," saith he, "both at our ministers, and at you who have here assembled to hear their report: who can think it worth while to waste the time of advising and deliberating, in trifles quite foreign to the present purpose. This negotiation may be readily and briefly reported. Here is the decree by which we were commissioned. We have executed this commission. Here are Philip's letters. You hear his answer. You are then only to take it into consideration."

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 21.

THIS short speech raised a general murmur in the assembly. Some applauded the strength and precision of it; others censured it as malicious and envious; when Demosthenes proceeded in this manner: "You shall now see, how I propose to cut off all these superfluous matters. Æschines praises the memory and eloquence of Philip. But so far am I from agreeing

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“ agreeing with him, that I apprehend any other
 “ man, in the same rank and circumstances,
 “ would not be accounted inferiour to him in
 “ these particulars. Ctesiphon praises his per-
 “ son: I think my colleague Aristodemus has a
 “ figure no less graceful. Others tell you of
 “ his mirth and gaiety at table: I think Phi-
 “ locrates is by far the more jovial companion [B].
 “ One man says it was left to me to speak about
 “ Amphipolis; but this your orator would not
 “ willingly suffer either you or me to speak.—
 “ But this is all trifling. I shall draw up a de-
 “ cree for entering into a negotiation with Phi-
 “ lip’s heralds and ambassadors, who are now
 “ expected; for convening an assembly, within
 “ two days after their arrival, to deliberate both
 “ about a peace and an alliance; and for doing
 “ the usual honours to your ministers, if you
 “ approve of our conduct.”

SECT. II.

THIS decree he accordingly moved for: it was then the eighth day of the month Elaphebolion: and the days of deliberation were fixed for the seventeenth and eighteenth of the same

Æschin. de
 fal. Leg.
 sect. 22.
 Dem. de fal.
 Leg. sect.
 20.

[B] It is observable, saith Olivier (l. 9. p. 63.) that it was necessary to collect together all the accomplishments of the several ambassadors, in order to have a just idea of those of Philip.

month.

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month. In the interim, Philip's three ambassadors, Antipater, Eurylochus, and Parmenio (who had orders to change the siege of Halus into a blockade, and to join the other two) arrived at Athens. The merit and character of these men added greatly to the lustre of their embassy. Eurylochus was eminent both for eloquence and valour; and exerted each effectually in the service both of Philip and Alexander. Parmenio joined the merit of an honest courtier to that of an able and brave soldier. We may judge of the esteem in which his master held him by the following answer. He was told that the Athenians had chosen their ten generals for the year: "A happy people, who can every year find ten!" said Philip, with his eye fixed on Parmenio: "In my life, I never knew but one." Antipater was the most respected and revered of all Philip's ministers. This prince used frequently to say at table: "Come! let us drink deep! it is enough for me that Antipater is sober!" He came into his audience-chamber one morning later than usual. "I have been long a-bed," said he,—"but it is no matter: Antipater was awake."

Plutarch.
Apophth.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 34.

THESE men were received at Athens with all the respect due to their characters and commission. They were lodged at the house of Demosthenes,

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mosthenes, who was particularly solicitous, that the state should treat them with the utmost deference and politeness. He procured an order from the assembly, that seats should be appointed and prepared for them in the theatre, where he appeared remarkably assiduous to do the honours of the city. This might have been intended as a return for the respect and attention paid to the Athenian ambassadors at Macedon. The people of that court valued themselves on their magnificence, and therefore were to be treated according to their own ideas of politeness. And possibly he might have thought that, by thus appearing the instrument of procuring them public Honours, he would give them an opinion of his own importance at Athens. But, whatever were his motives, this his conduct disgusted the people, who received his officiousness, and public assiduity, in obliging the ambassadors, and ordering their accommodations in the theatre, with loud expressions of derision and contempt.

When the ambassadors had first been entertained at a public feast, on the next day the assembly was convened to give them audience. The representatives of the several Grecian powers, who were then at Athens, saw plainly, that Philip wished only for a separate peace;

SECT. II.

SECT. 21.

Aischin. in Ctes. sect.

21.

Ibid.

Book III.

Æschin. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 22.

peace; and thought that matters were hurrying on with a precipitation which might prove fatal to the general interest. They therefore had a motion made in the assembly of the following purport: That, "whereas the Athenians were now deliberating about a treaty with the king of Macedon; and that the deputies, sent to exhort the Greeks to defend the general cause of liberty against this prince, were not yet returned; it should be resolved, that, on the return of these deputies, two assemblies should be appointed to consider of a peace; that the determination of the Athenians, on this occasion, should be regarded as the act of the confederates in general; and that all they who, within the space of three months, might think proper to accede to the treaty, should be considered as included in it, and intitled to all the advantages of it."

THIS motion, in which no mention at all was made of any alliance, was strongly supported by Æschines. The debate was protracted, and the assembly divided between those who urged the necessity of attending to the interests of the allies, and those who affected to consider all delays as highly dangerous. The first were only for a cessation of arms for the present, that the Grecian states might have full leisure to concur in

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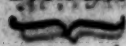
all further transactions, and to unite in concluding such a full and complete accommodation and alliance with Macedon, as might provide effectually for all their interests. The others were for entering immediately into the strictest connexions with Philip, as the only means of putting a stop to his conquests, and of securing to the people of Athens those dominions which he had still left unsubdued. Of this latter party Demosthenes appeared to be a warm espouser, though not without a due attention to the interest of the allied states, as he * himself represents his conduct. The next morning (for the dispute had been protracted, and the people forced to rise without coming to a determination) before any other speaker had been heard, he mounted the gallery, and spoke with great vehemence for bringing this important affair to an immediate conclusion. He told the people, “ that the motion of the day before, relating to the allies, could have no sort of effect, without the concurrence of the Macedonian ministers ; and that he apprehended it was a new affair, about which they were not instructed or commissioned to treat. He could not conceive (he said) how a peace could possibly subsist, without an alliance ; to rend these two asunder would be a most unnatural separation. He thought it by no means prudent to wait the slow proceedings
“ of

Sect. II.

*Æschin. de
Ctes. sect.
26.*

** de fal. Leg.
sect. 6.*

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Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
6.

“ of the allies; and that they were now only to
 “ consider whether they would carry on the war
 “ alone, or make a peace alone. This was the
 “ only alternative left for them; and, on one
 “ or other of these two measures, they were now
 “ necessarily to determine.” He then called on
 Antipater, and interrogated him publicly about
 the intentions of the king, his master. His an-
 swers were calculated to bring all matters to a
 speedy issue: and Philocrates now proposed his
 decree in form for the immediate conclusion of
 a peace and alliance. The assembly still con-
 tinued greatly distracted. The well-known am-
 bitious and enterprising temper of Philip, the
 vigour with which he was now actually pursuing
 his Thracian conquests; and the necessity of stop-
 ping his progress by the engagements of an equi-
 table treaty, afforded Demosthenes and Philo-
 crates weighty arguments for the support of their
 opinion. On the other hand, the proposition
 made by Philocrates was attacked with violent
 animosity, as calculated to betray the cause of
 Greece, and to sully the glory of their ancestors,
 the great patrons and protectors of liberty. *Æf-*
chines, in particular, spoke in the following
 manner :

Ibid.

“ HAD Philocrates studied to give all possible
 “ opposition to a peace, had he long laboured
 “ and

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“and matured his scheme, he could not possibly” Secret II
 “have contrived means more effectual than this”
 “decree. I am, myself, persuaded, that it is”
 “highly proper to come to an accommodation.”
 “But such a peace as he has now proposed I”
 “never should advise, while one single citizen of”
 “Athens was left alive.”

THIS whole day also passed in opposition and debate; and the next morning the subject was resumed with the same heat and violence; when Æschines arose, and every man waited in expectation to hear a strong and zealous defence of the motion in favour of their allies, and a spirited opposition to the sentiments of Philocrates and Demosthenes. But his opinion was now quite altered. To the general surprize he declared, if we may believe Demosthenes, that it “was an idle vanity to attend to those who entertained and flattered them with pompous harangues on the conduct and glory of their ancestors; or to imagine that they were born for the protection of every state, that could not maintain their own quarrels: that, for his part, he was for considering only the particular interest of Athens. This peace was their own affair, and ought not to be affected by the determinations of others. He saw, with concern, a number of insolent men throwing
 “out

Demost. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 6.

Book III. “out their opprobrious invectives, and brand-
 “ing, with the name of Barbarian, a prince of
 “merit and abilities, devoted to Greece, and
 “particularly attentive to approve himself a
 “friend to Athens; that, in short, he should
 “move them to confine their care and assistance
 “to those who had formerly assisted them.”
 The meaning of which was, that the Phocian
 interest only should be provided for, and their
 Thracian alliances and connexions all aban-
 doned.

FROM this aera, Demosthenes dates the cor-
 ruption of Æschines: and, if the relation be ex-
 actly true, the Macedonian ministers had, no
 doubt, tampered with him, and gained him over
 to their master's service.

Æschin. in
 Ctes. sect.
 27.

PHILOCRATES was now triumphant: his de-
 cree passed without any farther opposition; and
 a clause was inserted, which obliged all the re-
 presentatives of the allied states to accede imme-
 diately to the treaty, which was now ratified, in
 form, on the part of Athens. To this clause
 Æschines attributes the destruction of Cerso-
 bleptes, who could not, as he asserts, take any
 advantage of the treaty, as he had then no mini-
 ster at Athens: but this clause might possibly
 have been understood of those states only, whose
 represen-

representatives were then present : for it appears, from several particulars in those orations of the two contending orators, where these transactions are discussed, that a time must have been allowed for the others to accede.

SECT. II.

AND now Demosthenes proposed, and the assembly agreed to, the following resolution [c] :

Dem. de
Corona,
sect. 9.

“ WHEREAS

[c] THERE is a difficulty in the date of this decree, which may not be unworthy of the learned reader's notice ; and which hath not been observed by any interpreter or editor of Demosthenes, that I have had an opportunity of consulting.—But before it is stated, and to save the trouble of turning to other books, I here insert the Attic months in their order, according to Scaliger :

Hecatombaeon,	- - - - -	July.
Metagitnion,	- - - - -	August.
Boedromion,	- - - - -	September.
Puanepsion,	- - - - -	October.
Maemacterion,	- - - - -	November.
Posidaeon,	- - - - -	December.
Gamelion,	- - - - -	January.
Antheſterion,	- - - - -	February.
Elaphebolion,	- - - - -	March.
Munichion,	- - - - -	April.
Thargelion,	- - - - -	May.
Scirrophorion,	- - - - -	June.

The decree is dated, in all the editions of Demosthenes, on the nineteenth day of the month HECATOMBAEON. But in Demosthenes on the Embassy (sect. 20.) we find it expressly asserted, that the peace was agreed to at Athens on the nineteenth of the month Elaphebolion ; and that the ambassa-

“ WHEREAS Philip, by his ambassadors sent
 “ to Athens, in order to treat about a peace, has
 “ agreed to, and concluded, terms of accom-
 “ modation: it is RESOLVED by the Senate and
 “ People of Athens, in order to bring the peace
 “ to an issue, which hath been settled in a for-
 “ mer assembly, that five ambassadors be chosen
 “ from the community of Athens. That the
 “ ambassadors, thus chosen, shall depart, and,
 “ without delay, repair to that place, where
 “ they shall be informed that Philip resides, and,
 “ with all convenient speed, mutually receive
 “ and give the necessary oaths and ratifications
 “ of the treaty, concluded as aforesaid with the
 “ people of Athens, including the allies on each
 “ side. The persons chosen for this commission
 “ are Eubulus, Æschines, Cephisophon, Demo-
 “ crates, and Cleon.”

dors, who were by this decree commissioned to receive Philip's oath, were three months absent on this occasion, and returned to Athens on the thirteenth of Scirophorion. If the decree was made in the month Hecatombæon, the settling the terms of accommodation at Athens must have been the business, not of three days, but of four months; and the ambassadors must have been abroad not three, but twelve months: contrary to the express and particular declarations of Demosthenes in his oration on the Embassy. I know no other way of getting clear of this difficulty, but by supposing an ancient error in the copies of the oration on the Crown, and that instead of *Εκατομβαιωνος*, (p. 23. Ed. Foulke & Friend) we should read *Ελαφηβολαιωνος*.

ÆSCHINES,

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SECT. II.

ÆSCHINES, who was at the head of this embassy, appears to have now devoted himself entirely to serve Philip. Eubulus seems to have had all the craft of a politician, without the genius and temper of a true patriot statesman: attentive to establish his own interest and power at home, he found it more easy and more consistent with his scheme, to flatter the vices and follies of his countrymen, than to watch over the welfare of his country. Such a man was easily elated and influenced by the attention, which a prince or his ministers might shew him; which, though paid to his power and authority in the assembly, his vanity must have attributed to his own merit and abilities. Such a man was a most convenient instrument for the designs of Philip; nor do the rest of the ambassadors appear to have been sufficiently guarded against his artifices. His partisans and private agents grew every day more and more powerful in the assembly at Athens; and either corruption or deceit eluded all the efforts of the zealous patriots. Before the Macedonian ministers were departed, a remarkable instance appeared of the weakness of Athenian politics. Critobulus, a citizen of Lampascus, appeared on the part of Cersobleptes, and demanded that he should be included in the treaty. But this prince, who had purchased their friendship by so many im-

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 26.

portant concessions, whom their honour and their interest equally obliged them to support, was now abandoned and disclaimed: his demand was instantly rejected, and, if we may credit Æschines, at the instances of Demosthenes himself. History hath not given the particular reasons of a conduct which appears so extraordinary. But it seems not improbable, that, when the representative of Cersobleptes appeared, some Athenian generals, who had lately commanded in Thrace, and who were now assayers in the assembly, complained of hostilities committed by this prince, and represented him as an enemy to Athens: (for thus I would understand a passage in Philip's letter to the Athenians [D];) and that, in consequence of these representations, Cersobleptes was denied the advantage of being considered as an ally, and abandoned entirely to the power of Philip, whose

[D] Οἶδα — Κερσobleπῆν δὲ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν πρεσβυταῖς, ἰδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους ὁμοῦσαι προδυσμένον, κολυθίσῃ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν στρατηγῶν ἀποφασιστῶν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἐχθρὸν.

I know that Cersobleptes, when he declared himself ready (not to swear to a separate treaty with me, as I confess to have inadvertently rendered it in the first edition of the Philippic orations translated, but) to accede to the treaty, and to take the necessary oaths, in order to be included in it as one of the Athenian allies, in the presence of my ambassadors, was prevented by your generals, who shewed that he was an enemy to the people of Athens.

schemes demanded his ruin, and who had now driven him out of all his territories one by one, and shut him up, as hath been already observed, in the sacred mount. Here, quite cut off from all assistance, he soon found it in vain to contend any longer; surrendered himself to the conqueror, and gave one of his sons as an hostage for the performance of such severe terms as Philip's superiority enabled him to dictate.

SECT. II.

*Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 26. 29.*

THE news of this unhappy prince's total ruin was sent to Athens by Chares, who still commanded a fleet on the coast of Thrace; and there raised the usual ferment and commotion. These were still increased by new attempts of Philip to reduce some towns on the Propontis, and the neighbouring islands, which were under the protection of Athens: and of which number were Serrium and Doriscum, two places frequently mentioned in the orations of Demosthenes. For some short time the people seemed determined to recommence hostilities. Levies, preparations, subsidies, were all projected; and vigour and opposition, glory and resolution, became once more the favourite topics. On this occasion, Demosthenes pronounced that oration, which Dionysius Halicarnassæus calls the fifth Philippic, and which is supposed, by the editors and interpreters of that orator, to be now lost:

*Epist. ad
Amm.*

Book III.



but which, the author of this history is induced to believe, hath been joined to the first Philippic, not only from the reasons which he had occasion to offer in another work, but particularly as the latter part of the oration, so called, mentions facts, which, according to Æschines, must have immediately preceded the present treaty; and which, we find from another part of the remains of Demosthenes, happened at the time when Philip attacked the Athenian settlements on the Hellespont; and when the counsels of Athens were fluctuating, and within the space of a few days changed from peace to war, and from war to peace, which we find frequently and remarkably happening from the first attack of Olynthus, down to the ratification of the treaty now depending [E].

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
46, 47. cum
Schol.

THIS fit of zeal had been suddenly raised, and as suddenly subsided. The consequence of all their violent commotion was no more than to dispatch an ambassador, named Euclides, to represent to Philip that Serrium and Doriscum were Athenian cities: to which he coldly answered, that he had not been so instructed at the time of the convention which they had held with his ministers; nor had any mention been

[E] See a note in Book III. sect. 4. p. 41.

made of these places in the treaty. And with this answer the people seemed now contented. SECT. II.

BUT this incessant and indefatigable pursuit of new conquests and acquisitions could not but convince the Athenians of the absolute necessity of obliging Philip to an immediate ratification of the treaty, as the only means of stopping the progress of an active and restless ambition. The ambassadors, chosen for this purpose, seemed in no haste to depart. Æschines, in particular, was suspected, and perhaps justly, of being entirely devoted to the interest of Philip, and determined to give him every possible opportunity of extending his Thracian conquests, by prolonging the interval between the congress at Athens, and the ratification of the treaty on the part of Macedon. Demosthenes looked on this as his real design, and for that reason, as he asserts, procured another decree, to oblige these ministers to repair to Philip without further delay, and to receive his engagements. The error in neglecting the interests of Cersobleptes was perceived when it was too late; and the ambassadors were now directed to administer the oath to that prince, that he might be included in the treaty.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
47.

ÆSCHINES, and his colleagues, at length prepared for their departure. They embarked at

Ibid. sect.
52.

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the port of Athens, coasted along the Euripus; then landed at Chalcis, and from thence proceeded to Oreum. Here they stopped for some time, under the pretence of waiting for a convoy. Proxenus, the Athenian admiral, who was ordered to conduct them, at length arrived with his fleet. Still their departure was deferred under various pretences; while Philip pursued his conquests with his usual vigour. In twenty-five days they at last arrived at Pella; a journey which might have been accomplished in six, had they used the necessary expedition. Here they were joined by Demosthenes, who, after their departure, had prevailed on the people to add him to their number; in order, as he alleged, to enable him to perform his promise to some Athenian prisoners, who had been taken in Olynthus, and were still detained at Macedon; and whom, at the time of the former embassy, he had engaged to ransom at his own expence; and now brought a talent with him for this purpose. We find *Æschines* treating this design of Demosthenes with the greatest contempt: he insists, that it was well known, that Philip intended to set them all at liberty without any consideration; and that his talent could not have proved sufficient for the ransom of a single citizen of but moderate rank. By the computation of Demosthenes, however, it must have been of much greater service:

Sect. 49.

*Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 31.*

*Dem. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 50.*

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service: for he asserts, that, immediately after his arrival, he furnished several poor citizens, who were desirous of purchasing their freedom, without owing any obligation to Philip, or who doubted the reality of his intentions to release them, some with three, some with five minae, according to their different circumstances and conditions.

Sect. II.

At Pella, where the ambassadors now waited the return of Philip, who was still in Thrace, they found the deputies of Thebes, whom the Phocian affairs had brought to the court of Macedon. Preparations for war were carrying on through that kingdom, and some great and signal event seemed to be in agitation. The real designs of Philip were ever an inviolable secret, until they came to the very point of execution: but it was universally supposed, that the armaments, he was now making, were intended against the Phocians. The circumstances of this people it is here necessary to recal to view.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 32, 35.

THE sacred war had for some years passed in mutual ravages, the effect and indication of the weakness of each party. In the beginning of this present * year, the Phocians had some slight success near Hyampolis, but were defeated before Coronaea with a considerable loss. The Thebans,

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
56.

*Olymp.
108. Y. 2.

Book III.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
45.

bans, however, were too weak to derive any advantages from this victory, or to recover those cities which the Phocian arms had gained in Boeotia. The enemy still infested their territories, and had just been reinforced by a considerable party of their army, which the Thebans had shut up in one of their towns, and which their fellow-soldiers delivered, by making themselves masters of the place. Thus strengthened and encouraged by their success, the Phocians sought out their enemy, and gained a considerable victory near Hedyleum. The cavalry of Thebes was not engaged in this action, but was soon after broken and defeated.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
38.

Sect. 56.

THE Thebans, weakened by these their losses, and abandoned by their allies, determined to address themselves for assistance to Philip, as the person to whom the honour of determining this tedious quarrel seemed peculiarly reserved. The Phocians, on their part, were equally exhausted, and equally dispirited; their money was wasted, and their forces harassed: they suspected the designs, and dreaded the power, of Philip; and now began to think seriously of a peace. They commenced a judicial process against Phaleucus, who was accused of plundering the sacred treasures, convicted, and deposed; they then named three magistrates,

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magistrates, who were commissioned to examine into the state of the temple, and into the depredations which had been there made; and to bring the authors to condign punishment. Philon, one of their citizens, who had shared largely of the spoil, with others of his accomplices, were put to death, being first obliged to make restitution to the god: and while, by these acts of justice, they endeavoured to regain the general favour, they had recourse to the Athenians for assistance, and, as an inducement to comply with their desires, offered to give them up Alponus, Thronium, and Nicaea, the three cities which commanded the streights of Thermopylae. The Athenians accepted of the conditions, and granted them a fleet of fifty vessels, under the command of Proxenus. But these vessels were neither equipped with sufficient expedition; nor did their general act with the necessary vigour.

Sect. II.

*Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 41.*

PHALEUCUS, though deposed, still continued at the head of eight thousand mercenaries, who were absolutely devoted to him. These he supported by ravaging the Theban territory; and, with them, covered Orchomenus, Coronaea, and Tilphosseum, the conquests of his predecessors. At Nicaea he fixed his head-quarters, and determined to prevent Proxenus from taking pos-

*Diod. Sic.
16. sect.
59.*

Book III.
 Eschin. ut
 supra.
 Dem. de fal.
 Leg. sect.
 25.

session of the cities of Thermopylae. He even seized and threw the deputies into chains, who were sent to summon him to surrender these towns to Athens, according to the late stipulation: while the natural forces of the Phocians were, in the mean time, employed in fortifying the city of Abae.

Diod. Sic.
 l. 16. sect.
 53.

It was not yet the time for Philip to act effectually against Phocis: but, that he might not appear to neglect the cause of the god, he sent the Thebans some reinforcements, which enabled them to attack the Phocians at Abae, where they defeated and pursued them with considerable slaughter. The Phocians dispersed in their flight; some found refuge in the neighbouring towns: a party of five hundred took refuge in the temple of the Abaeon Apollo. They pitched their tents along the porticoes, and made their lodgment to the best advantage in their power. Their beds were of dried herbs, straw, and the like inflammable materials. An accidental fire began in one of their tents, was instantly communicated through the whole number; spread itself round the adjacent apartments, and raged with a fury which could not be extinguished. Part of the temple was consumed; and the wretched Phocians, who had taken shelter

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shelter there, were all either stifled, or reduced to ashes.

SECT. II.

THIS accident was generally represented as the apparent judgment of the deity on those sacrilegious men, who had presumed to expect protection in his temple, and filled all the Phocians with consternation and despair. They dispatched their deputies to Archidamus, to desire the assistance of Sparta: while the Thebans, on their part, sent ambassadors to Philip to solicit fresh succours. These now attended at Pella; whither ministers from Lacedaemon also repaired. This state saw the present distressed condition of Phocis, and thought it a favourable opportunity to revive an old claim to the temple, which they insisted belonged originally to the Dorians. And, as it plainly appeared that the Phocians could not long keep possession of it, their ministers were instructed to represent and assert this their claim at Macedon.

Diod. l. 16.
sect. 59.

Schol. in
Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
25.

WHEN the Athenian deputies had resided twenty-five days at Pella, Philip returned; and received the representatives of the several states with his usual politeness. He affected the greatest attention to the remonstrances of the Lacedaemonians; and gave such answers, as effectually prevented them from penetrating into his

Book III.

Demost. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 43.

his real intentions. The Theban ministers he also treated with the appearance of the utmost friendship and respect. Repeated attempts were made to gain them by magnificent presents, but these were all rejected: and, on this occasion, Philon, one of those ministers, made the following answer to his declarations of affection, which Demosthenes extols as rather worthy of the state of Athens:

Ibid.

“It is with the utmost delight and satisfaction I observe that greatness and goodness of mind expressed in this your generous treatment of the Theban ministers. We have already been honoured with sufficient assurances, that we are considered as your friends, and worthy of all the rights of hospitality. But let this benevolence be directed to our state, and to its interests, now intrusted to us. So shall you act worthy of Philip, and worthy of Thebes: and so shall we, and our country, be ever inviolably attached to the king of Macedon.”

Sect. 49.

CARESSES, promises, and presents, were also employed towards the ambassadors of Athens. Every one of them was privately and particularly tempted by large sums. But Demosthenes himself bears witness to the general integrity

grity of his colleagues on this occasion, and declares, that these magnificent offers were rejected. A grand present was then prepared for the whole body, as the best method of screening the corruption of any particular man. This was also declined by Demosthenes; who took the liberty of representing, that this money might be more honourably and advantageously employed, in purchasing the freedom of the Athenian prisoners. To this Philip answered, that, as his guests and friends, they were fully intitled to this small acknowledgment of his regard; that their acceptance of it could not at all affect the prisoners, or retard their release; these he intended to send, as a compliment, to the Athenians, at their approaching festival in honour of Minerva. Demosthenes, as he hath represented his own conduct, still continued to resist the alluring temptation; the other ministers were not possessed of equal resolution; but, either dazzled by the magnificence of his present, or convinced of the fairness of his intentions, accepted and divided it among them.

BEFORE their public audience, they consulted among themselves in what manner they were to proceed, and how they might best execute their commission. On this occasion, Æschines took notice of the preparations for war, now carrying

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 32.

Book III.

carrying on in Macedon; which plainly discovered that Philip was determined to strike some important blow. There could be no doubt, he said, that this prince intended to march to the streights. All Greece was in suspense and expectation. He therefore thought it the duty of the embassy not to be confined to the business of receiving Philip's oath; but that, as they had full power to act, in every particular, as they deemed most advantageous to the state, they were now to endeavour to detach Philip from the Theban interest, and to persuade him to restore those cities of Boeotia which had been demolished by Thebes. Demosthenes, on the contrary, declared, that he apprehended it the safest method to confine themselves to the letter of their commission: he saw, as plainly as any man, that Philip intended to march to Thermopylae; but that he had not that boldness which could prompt him to meddle in any matters that might be productive of contention, and of which he might find it difficult to give a satisfactory account to his countrymen. He, no doubt, saw what would prove the consequence of all these transactions: and therefore determined to act, with all imaginable caution, in an affair which would be undoubtedly canvassed and examined with the strictest scrutiny hereafter. The real design of his appearing now at

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at Macedon, probably was no other than to watch the conduct of Æschines, and to have an opportunity of detecting those secret practices and correspondences which he, at least, suspected: it was therefore most consistent with his scheme, as well as the safest method, to act no further in this negotiation than was strictly and absolutely required by the commission.

Sect. II.

THEY were now admitted to an audience: on which occasion Demosthenes was the first to speak. And the substance of his speech is thus recorded by his rival orator:

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 34.

“ His colleagues, he observed, were entirely
“ divided in their views and sentiments. His
“ were strictly consonant to those of Philip. He
“ had, in the first place, laboured to support the
“ decree of Philocrates; then, both in the se-
“ nate and in the assembly, he had promoted and
“ accelerated the peace and alliance; and this
“ in such a manner, as effectually to frustrate
“ all opposition. At Athens he had procured
“ all possible honours for the Macedonian mi-
“ nisters, and, by this means, exposed himself to
“ all the distraction and anxiety which the ma-
“ lice and envy of his enemies could raise with-
“ in his mind. He had escorted these mini-
“ sters publickly as far as to Thebes, with all the

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H

“ marks

Book III. "marks and declarations of respect. He was
 "sensible, he said, that he had been maligned
 "and misrepresented in Macedon. He had
 "indeed denied Philip the praise of beauty;
 "for, in this, he must confess that woman far
 "surpassed him. He had not displayed his po-
 "tency in drinking, the excellence of a sponge.
 "Nor had he spoken in high terms of his me-
 "mory, the qualification of an hireling rhetor-
 "ician, rather than that of a mighty prince."

Longinus.

DEMOSTHENES, though he sometimes affected, yet was of all men least capable of gaiety and ridicule: naturally gloomy and severe, possessed of none of the lively passions, and therefore unable to excite them. If he ever made his hearers laugh, it was the mirth raised by absurdity and weakness, not the applause extorted by the poignancy of wit, or the delicacy of humour. On this occasion, his attempts to give a light and ridiculous turn to the encomiums which the ambassadors had lately lavished on Philip, were entirely unsuccessful. His colleagues held down their heads, in confusion, while the courtiers loudly expressed their derision. It was some time before the respect due to the presence of their prince could prevail: but at length **Æschines** was admitted to address himself to Philip.

**Æschin. de
 fal. Leg.
 sect. 34.**

Sect. 35, 36.

The court of Macedon, he said, was not the place

place for the Athenian ministers to defend, or to praise themselves; they had been deemed worthy of their commission at home; and there they were to account for their conduct. Their present business was to receive Philip's oath, conformably to the treaty already concluded on the part of Athens. The preparations for war now carrying on, plainly declared that the king intended to march against the Phocians. But he entreated him to remember the ties and engagements which united those several states, of which the great Hellenic body was formed. Their disputes were, if possible, to be determined judicially; if not their rights, their privileges, their religion, he hoped, would find the due attention and respect. The ancient laws of Greece demanded, that all sacrilegious violators and spoilers of the Delphic temple should be punished with severity; but, at the same time, forbid the subversion of any of these cities which are entitled to send representatives to the great Amphictyonic council; and the members of this council he proceeded to enumerate, and to explain the nature of their rights and privileges. The cities of Boeotia, he observed, were destroyed, and the Phocians threatened. The respect due to the great council of Greece, not to mention the treaty, must determine him to restore the one, and to spare the other: the

SACT. II.

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individuals who had violated the sanctity of the temple, might have their punishment sufficiently determined at the approaching assembly of Amphictyons: but their cities were, by the most solemn laws and institutions, entitled to full security: and if any partiality to the Thebans, or the influence of their representations, should induce him to act in opposition to these, while he raised himself a number of enemies, he would find them equally false and ungrateful as they had formerly proved to Athens.

THESE remonstrances were probably calculated for recommending the speaker's zeal to the Athenians, not for influencing the person to whom they were addressed. At least, Philip was too politic to come to any explicit declaration of his intentions. He confined himself to vague professions of his affection and respect to Athens; promised to give up the prisoners, and obligingly desired that the ambassadors might not yet leave him; for that he wished to settle some affairs in Thessaly in their presence, and with their assistance. To this country he now directed his march, accompanied by the deputies of Athens and Thebes, who were all treated with the utmost appearance of affection and confidence. The deputies of each state always found an easy admission to the king, who ever spoke

Demost. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 47.
& alio.

PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

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of their affairs with such apparent ease and candour, such seeming affection and regard, that the most cautious could not suspect his artifice, nor could the most penetrating discover it. To the Thebans he inveighed in private against the obstinacy and the impiety of Phocis; and assured them of his resolution to inflict exemplary punishment on this state. To the Athenians he expressed the utmost commiseration of that unhappy people. He lamented his connexions which obliged him to appear among their enemies; he took occasions to hint, that if he should be obliged to decide this tedious quarrel, his real intentions were to protect them against all severity; he spoke, with concern, of the tyranny and cruelty of Thebes; and of the necessity of restoring the cities of Boeotia to their independence. Every article, that was agreeable to the views and interests of Athens, he frequently mentioned with an apparently firm conviction of their justice and reasonableness; and, without directly and formally promising, persuaded the deputies, that it was his real purpose to make most important concessions to the Athenians; and fully to indemnify them for any inconvenience they might suffer by his keeping possession of Amphipolis. And, while he thus amused the several deputies in private, he every day entertained them all at his table

Sæc. II.

Dem. de
Pace sect. 3.

Phil. 2.
sect. 6.

Book III.

Æschin. in
Timarch.
p. 193.

with the utmost gaiety and condescension. On one of these occasions, the young Alexander, who, from his earliest years, discovered a particular taste for music, sang, or repeated some verses for the entertainment of the company; and Demosthenes is said to have descended, at his return to Athens, to repeat and ridicule those errors in pronunciation, which the prince committed.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
33, 34.

FROM Theffaly, Philip addressed a letter to the Athenians, expressing his esteem for the state, and its ambassadors, declaring, that he should omit no opportunity of demonstrating his regard for them, and earnestly desiring, that the means might be pointed out to him; not hinting, as before, at any particular good offices which he intended to confer; but professing a total ignorance of the manner in which he might gratify this people: and only declaring his general good disposition and desire, to approve himself their friend. He concluded with entreating them not to be offended at his detaining their ambassadors, for that he wished to take the advantage of their eloquence and wisdom, to bring the people of Halus to reasonable terms.

Ibid. sect.
73.

Æschines is accused by his rival orator of having held nocturnal interviews with Philip, and having dictated this letter himself. But this insinuation

PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

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sinuation he treats with great contempt, and insists on the glaring absurdity of supposing that Philip could not have composed it, or might not have employed Python or Leosthenes, two able speakers, who then resided at his court.

Socr. II.

Æschir. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 40.

BUT whether Æschines concurred or no in these arts of protracting the treaty, or whether he suggested any means of amusing the Athenians, it seems pretty clear, at least, that he (if not his colleagues also) was rather studious to recommend himself to Philip, than to serve his country. Nay, to such shameful adulation and prostitution are these ministers said to have proceeded, as even to betray the weakness of their state to its mortal enemy, and to point out the means of subverting it. They represented to Philip, that the people of Athens were weak, fluctuating, and inconstant, like the waves of a tumultuous sea, tossed about by the winds and accidental storms: that all public spirit was lost among them; that the community and its interests were never regarded, never asserted, never remembered; that it was his business to gain a few friends among them, who might direct all their councils, and conduct all their affairs, in the manner most agreeable to his designs: and that this would enable him to command them absolutely, and to effect whatever

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
42.

Book III.

he pleased at Athens. Demosthenes asserts positively, that he accused them, in the assembly, of having given this shocking and flagitious advice; and that they were utterly unable to contradict him. But Philip wanted neither their instruction nor directions. He was perfectly acquainted with the temper and dispositions of his antagonists, and had long practised those arts which these men are said to have recommended to him.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sec.
47.

sec. 52.

He had now no longer occasion to affect delays. He had already compleated his Thracian conquests, and was fully prepared for the execution of his other designs. He was advanced to the very borders of Greece; and an uninterrupted passage through Thermopylae was the only difficulty now remaining. The Athenians were in the first place to be satisfied; and therefore, just as he was ready to depart from Pherae, he took the oath which they required, and concluded the treaty which had been so long depending. The ceremony was performed in a place adjoining to the temple of Pollux, which Demosthenes calls a tavern. The terms of his engagement were, that "he concluded a peace with the Athenians and their allies," without any explicit exception or reservation. A state of the allies, on each side, was settled and drawn up.

up. The Cardians were included on the part of Philip, so as to leave him perpetual occasion of fomenting divisions in the Chersonesus. On the part of the Athenians, Cersobleptes was omitted. Philocrates had endeavoured, at Athens, to have the Halians and the Phocians expressly excepted out of the treaty. This the people absolutely refused; but now Philip contrived to have their names also omitted in the list of the Athenian allies. Halus, he said, he was absolutely engaged to give up to the Pharfalians, who had ever served him with the greatest zeal and affection. As to the Phocians, he publicly declared, that he could not think of comprehending in this treaty, or of honouring with the name of allies, a people polluted by sacrilege, and condemned by the general voice of the great and august council of the Amphyctions. But, at the same time, he privately assured the Athenian ministers, that he had determined to act in such a manner as should give general satisfaction to Greece; that he would take no measures without the concurrence and consent of the Phocians themselves; but that he had his own reasons for not entering into a particular explanation of his intentions, in presence of the Theban deputies.

SECT. II.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
47.

Aliod Arg.
in Orat. de
fal. Leg.
Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
89.

THUS this momentous affair, which engaged the attention of all Greece, and from which every
state

Book III. state flattered themselves with the hopes of such consequences as suited their particular views and interests, was delayed just so long as Philip's schemes required, and concluded at the time and in the manner best suited to his purposes. The ambassadors of every state imagined that they only saw through his real intentions : but these were, in effect, equally concealed from them all. The great schemes of his ambition were the sole objects of his real regard ; and these he was now prepared to execute.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect. 14.
Orat. in
Epist. sect. 1.

HALUS was taken ; for the united forces of Philip and Parmenio were not to be resisted. And this important place, which, by its situation, covered all the Pthiotis, Philip gave up to the Pharsalians, who razed the town, and dispersed the inhabitants. A concession which augmented the reputation of his disinterestedness, and inspired the Greeks with such favourable sentiments of Philip, as greatly facilitated his design of deciding the Phocian war.

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a mem-

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WHILE the king of Macedon continued his progress, and was advancing gradually towards the pass of Thermopylae, the Athenian ministers returned, and appeared before the senate of five hundred, to report the success of their negociation. Suspense and expectation possessed the mind of every citizen in Athens; and the senate-house was instantly crowded with vast numbers, impatient to be made acquainted with the result of this important transaction. Those of the ambassadors who had yielded to the influence of Macedonian gold, or who imagined that their future reputation would be determined, in a great measure, by the general opinion of their address and abilities, on this occasion, displayed their services in a pompous manner, and endeavoured to inspire their countrymen with the most favourable sentiments of Philip. Demosthenes, on the other hand, inveighed loudly against the conduct of all those who had been entrusted with any share in the manage-

Book III.
SECT. III.

Dem. de
falsa Leg-
sect. 7.

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management of this treaty : he enumerated minutely all the several instances of their artifice and insincerity, which, he peremptorily declared, were bringing down ruin on the state, and on its allies, which nothing could avert, but the utmost caution and vigour on the part of Athens. He insisted with all his usual vehemence, that the people of Phocis were a devoted sacrifice to the ambition of the Macedonian; that the specious, but dangerous, promises and assurances of his colleagues were really calculated for the utter destruction of that unhappy state; and that universal confusion and disorder must speedily prove the consequence of that fatal security, with which they were now endeavouring to possess the Athenians. The king of Macedon, he observed, was now upon the confines of Greece, ready to pour in his armies, and to overwhelm that whole nation; and the last and sole resource now left, the last and only means of preserving the liberty of Greece, and the being of Athens, was instantly to defend the country of Phocis, and once more to possess themselves of the important pass of Thermopylae: the least degree of irresolution, the delay of one hour, must inevitably prove fatal to the liberty of Greece.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
11.

FACTION, clamour, and prejudice had not the same influence among these sage and experienced counsellors,

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counsellors, as in the popular assemblies. Demosthenes was heard with approbation; and so unfavourable to the ambassadors was the final resolution of the senate, that they were even denied the usual complements and public honours paid to every man who had ever been entrusted with the like commission. Nor doth the senate seem to have been entirely satisfied with the conduct of Demosthenes. The acrimony and dissension which appeared among the deputies, might have persuaded them, that all were in some degree to be condemned. The men whom Demosthenes accused, were, on their part, as violent in enforcing every objection which lay against his conduct: and the senate was so far influenced by their representations, or so much displeased by what they themselves observed, that no distinction was made between the ambassadors, but Demosthenes himself involved in the general disgrace.

Sect. III.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
II.

Sect. II.

BUT now they appeared before the assembly of the people; and here they were assisted by their partisans, and favoured by the general indolent and pacific disposition. Æschines arose, and repeated the declarations and assurances which he had already made in the senate. "I have had the happiness," said he, "of persuading Philip to every measure which may be advan-

Dem de
falsa Leg.
sect. 3.

Book III.

“rageous and agreeable to the state. Nothing,
“but an impatient and intemperate heat, on
“your part, can prevent the happy effects of
“this my negotiation. Do you but continue
“quiet, and, in three or four days, you will find
“the Boeotian cities freed from the oppressive
“domination of Thebes, and Thebes itself in-
“vested by a powerful army. Thespia and
“Platea will be raised from their ruins, and
“restored to their ancient strength, splendour,
“and independence: the Thebans themselves
“will be obliged to pay the fine imposed on the
“Phocians, and to repair all the effects of sacri-
“lege and profanation. They were, them-
“selves, the real authors of the Phocian war:
“they had, themselves, entertained a design of
“seizing the temple; and, as I easily convinced
“Philip, are not therefore the less culpable,
“though they have failed in the execution. So
“sensible is this people of the effects of my re-
“monstrances, and so much irritated by their
“success, that they have, in revenge, devoted
“me to destruction, and actually set a price
“upon my head. The people of Euboea look
“on our accommodation with Philip with the
“greatest terroure and consternation. “We
“know,” say they, “on what conditions this
“peace has been concluded. We know, that
“Amphipolis is to be given up to Philip; and
“Euboea

“Eubœa to be delivered entirely into the power
“of Athens as an equivalent.”—These are the
“important advantages which may be expected
“from our negociation. But these are not the
“only advantages. Another point, of high and
“intimate concernment to the public, hath been
“effectually secured, which I shall take another
“opportunity of displaying fully. At present,
“I perceive the envy and malignity of certain
“persons ready to break forth, and therefore
“shall avoid every occasion of contest and alter-
“cation.”

Secr. HEI

THAT point, which he now hinted at, was the
restitution of the city of Oropus; which the
Athenians, as I had occasion to observe, were
very solicitous to obtain, and which the The-
bans still kept possession of, in manifest opposi-
tion to all right and justice.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect. 8.

ÆSCHINES finished his flattering harangue
with the universal acclamation and applause of
the assembly. The place resounded with tumult-
uous praises of his abilities, both as a speaker;
and as a public minister; and it appeared plainly,
that any other sentiments must be received with
resentment and disgust. As soon as he could
command attention, Demosthenes arose. He
declared that, for his part, he knew nothing of

Secr. 9.

Book III.

all those magnificent advantages which Æschines so confidently promised; he knew nothing of any assurances, or declarations of this nature, made by Philip; he had no reason to believe, nor did he expect to see them fulfilled; and then began to utter the same sentiments of caution, suspicion, and vigilance, which he had before delivered in the senate. But he was quickly interrupted by the loud expressions of contempt and indignation, which instantly burst forth from Philocrates and Æschines. The general voice of the assembly favoured their insidious design of suppressing all inquiry and dispassionate examination of their conduct, and, in an instant, all was confusion, noise, abuse, ridicule, and resentment. Demosthenes found it in vain to strive against the present torrent of popular clamour and odium, and the prejudices and passions of a people, violent and impatient in their resentment against the man who had endeavoured to mortify their most pleasing hopes. “Well, my countrymen!” said he, “I see your dispositions: but, if any of these fine promises are performed, I renounce all recompence due to my faithful services. Let my colleagues only share your favour: honour them: reward them: crown them: if you be disappointed, let them only be objects of your displeasure: let me be considered as having no share in this business.”

Sect. 16.

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“business.”—“Not so,” said Æschines; “rather prepare to defend your conduct, when the event hath proved your malice.” “I shall ever be ready,” cried Demosthenes, “like an honest citizen, to submit my actions to the public.”

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THE spirit and apparent candour of this speaker, gave the opposite party reason to apprehend, that he might at last be heard with less disgust: when Philocrates, dreading the consequences of all further explanations, started up. “Men of Athens!” said he, “it is no wonder that Demosthenes and I differ in opinion. He is a morose and peevish water-drinker: my heart is opened and dilated with good wine and jollity.” This ridiculous jest was received with loud shouts of laughter and applause; and, in this serious and momentous affair, unhappily had a greater effect, than the most solid arguments, and spirited remonstrances. The suspicions of Demosthenes were again insulted, despised, and derided; and, without further delay or difficulty, a decree was made for the ratification of a perpetual peace and alliance with Philip and his descendants. It enacted, that public thanks should be given to this prince, for his kind and equitable conduct and attentions towards the state; that the Phocians should be obliged to

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
16.

Sect. 17.

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deliver up the temple, and submit to the determination of the Amphictyonic council; and that, in case of any opposition to these demands, the Athenians should send an army to enforce the execution of this their decree.

Sect. 20.

AMBASSADORS from Phocis were then at Athens, and present at these resolutions: and Philip took care that it should be represented to them, that the Athenians had a very just dependence on his declarations, that they could never think of delivering up Phocis into his power, were they not confident of his intentions; and that the Phocians might be well assured, that they could not suffer, by submitting their fate to the determination of the king of Macedon. This management entirely defeated the schemes of Lacedaemon. For, when Archidamus found that he could effect nothing by treating with Philip, his ambassadors retired, and an army was raised, and led into Phocis, to oppose the attempts of Macedon, or rather to seize the temple. But the Phocians now hoped that their fate was not yet desperate: the confidence which the Athenians seemed to repose in Philip, must, as they imagined, have a just foundation: or, if any of them still entertained suspicions of this prince, their apprehensions of Athens, and their fear of finding a new enemy in this state, (should

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
19.

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they attempt any opposition) determined them to wait the final event in quiet. They saw through the pretended zeal of Archidamus: and, when he offered his services and protection, and expressed his apprehensions of the approaching danger, they answered, with a real or affected ease, that "the Phocians feared for Sparta much more than for themselves." His assistance was rejected, and his forces marched back to Lacedaemon.

Sect. III.

Æschin. de fal. Leg. Act. 41.

Dem. de fal. Leg. sect. 13.

HAVING thus defeated the designs of Archidamus, Philip's next care was to confirm the Athenians in their present dispositions. He well knew the temper of this people, and still dreaded their inconstancy. Their general, Proxenus, was now stationed near the Streights, where he might, with ease, not only oppose his passage through Thermopylae, but cut off his provisions, which were all supplied by sea; as Phocis, and the frontier of Theffaly, had lain entirely uncultivated amidst the confusion and disorder of war. In order, therefore, to persuade the Athenians to a full reliance on the candour and sincerity of his intentions, to quiet all suspicions, and to inspire them with that security and confidence which his interests required at this critical conjuncture, he addressed a letter to their state, conceived with all the artifice which refined and

Ibid.

Sect. 39.

Book III.

Sect. 18.

consummate policy could dictate, acknowledging the friendship which the decree lately made in his favour had expressed; desiring, that they themselves might appear and be witnesses of the equity of his conduct, and that a deputation of their citizens might be sent to him, that, in their presence, and with their assistance, he might make a final decision of the Phocian affairs. To give this letter the greater weight, his emissaries were busily employed to magnify the declarations of Philip, as a full and perfect proof of his resolution to attach himself entirely to the interests and views of Athens, rather than to those of Thebes.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 41.

His letter could not possibly have arrived more seasonably. Scarcely had the treaty been ratified on the part of Macedon, when advices were received, that Proxenus had been refused admittance into the cities which commanded Thermopylae. Phaleucus had partly discovered his intentions of coming to a treaty with Philip: and the effects of such a conjunction were uncertain. The people were in a ferment: the assembly divided between hopes and apprehensions: but the latter instantly quieted all their commotions; and it was resolved to send an embassy to Philip, to assist, as was pretended, in the deliberations about the affairs of Phocis, but,

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but, in reality, to watch the motions of the king of Macedon, and, if possible, to gain further assurances of his resolution to perform his promises to Athens. Æschines and Demosthenes were both deputed as ambassadors on this occasion. The partisans and friends of the Macedonian interest, knew the danger of giving Demosthenes any opportunity of rousing the people from their security; while this statesman, on the other hand, saw through their designs, and determined that they should not remove him from Athens at this critical time. To their great disappointment, he declined the commission; and as it was necessary to leave some friend behind, who might watch his motions, and counteract his schemes, Æschines pleaded sickness, and procured his brother to be sent ambassador in his place.

SECT. III.

Dem. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 39.

ATTENTION and suspense now possessed all Greece. The storm was gathering; and no one knew, with certainty, where it was to fall. The Phocians, whose deputies attended upon Philip, flattered themselves with the fairest hopes of security and protection. The Thebans felt, or at least affected to feel, some apprehensions. They began to raise levies, and to fortify their towns: and Philip, to magnify the danger, and with an appearance of sincerity capable of deceiving the

Phil. 3.
sect. 4.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 41.

Book III.

most guarded, entreated the Athenians, in a second letter, to hold their forces in readiness, and to march out to assist him in the support of justice. The Messenians, the Argians, and Megalopolitans, who had dreaded the effects of Philip's transactions with the Lacedaemonian ministers, when these ministers were obliged to depart without success, must naturally have encouraged themselves with expectations of protection and assistance; and that the king of Macedon would enable them to shake off the Spartan yoke, and assert their ancient independence.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 4.
De Pace
sect. 5.
Lucceffini
in Phil. 2.

PHILIP, in the mean time, marched on, making the fairest and most favourable declarations to the deputies of every state, who severally pressed him to come to an explanation of his designs. To the Thessalians he promised to give up the cities which commanded Thermopylae, and to restore those rights in the Amphictyonic council, together with some pecuniary advantages (of which we have but obscure accounts) which the Phocians had wrested from them, by keeping possession of the temple. To the Thebans he gave assurances, that he would make them masters of those Boeotian cities which the Phocians had conquered, and that the entire territory of Phocis should be at their disposal. To the Athenians he repeated his assurances of his favourable

favourable intentions to their state; of his aversion to the insolence and tyranny of Thebes; and his resolution to circumscribe its power by establishing the Boeotian cities in a condition of strength and independence. Thus, by the deepest and most consummate dissimulation, which he dignified by the name of policy, did Philip completely deceive all those persons who were employed to watch his motions with strict attention; and who severally exulted in their own superiour penetration, and spoke with pity and contempt of the blind and fatal security of all the other deputies. One difficulty now only remained to retard the great design which this prince was so happily conducting. Phaleucus was still stationed at Nicaea with his eight thousand men. Such a force must have proved ineffectual against the united powers of Macedon, Thessaly, and Boeotia; yet still a vigorous opposition, aided by the extraordinary advantage of situation which Thermopylae afforded, might occasion a dangerous delay. The Macedonian, earnest to seize the present favourable moment, when Greece in general was lulled into full confidence and supine dependence on his promises, seemed well disposed to treat with this chief. And, as Phaleucus could have no reasonable hopes of assistance from Athens, and as it appeared absolutely necessary for his safety to come to

Sect. III.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 41.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
59.

Book III.

to immediate terms with Philip, he, on his part, readily attended to the overtures proposed; and, on condition that the town should be given up, he was permitted to retire with his troops into Peloponnesus.

Thus did this politic and enterprising prince gain what was justly called the key to Greece, and pass the famous Streights without opposition or difficulty: an attempt which, in former times, would have been received with horror and indignation; which, but a few years since, was considered as highly dangerous and audacious; and whose success must have, even now, been deemed exceedingly doubtful and precarious, since the interest of the several states, however opposite in their different views and sentiments, called on them all equally to guard against it, as its success left their several territories absolutely exposed to the arms of Macedon. But the art and address of Philip were as consummate as his ambition was vast. He knew how to make the passions, interests, and inclinations, of every particular people the instruments of his designs: and thus, by the assistance of some, and the connivance of others, he was entered into the very heart of Greece, at the head of a powerful army, ready to decide the contests of that country, where no other king of Macedon had ever been considered

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considered in any other light but that of an humble tributary, or ally, favoured and honoured by the protection which he received, or the connexions to which he was admitted.

Sect. III.

THE Phocians, now totally abandoned, in a state of terrible uncertainty, still amused with hopes, yet trembling for the event, were obliged to submit implicitly to Philip; and instantly concluded a treaty for that purpose, which he, on his part, engaged to have approved of and confirmed by the Amphictyons. The article of most importance was this, that the state itself should be spared; and that punishment should be extended no further than to those who had shared in the guilt of sacrilege. The Amphictyons assembled to determine particularly about the fate of Phocis. The deputies of the Thessalians, Locrians, and Boeotians only were present on this occasion; all devoted to Philip, and ready to enact whatever he might dictate, particularly against a people who had, for so many years, and with such obstinate valour, maintained a bloody war against them. A decree was framed, of which these were the principal articles.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
21.

Diod. Sic.
l. 26. sect.
59.

I. THAT the Phocians should be forever deprived of their right of sending representatives to the council of Amphictyons:

Sect. 60.

Amphictyons: which should be transferred to Philip, and enjoyed by him, and his descendants, successors to the throne of Macedon.

II. THAT the three principal cities of Phocis, which sent representatives to the Amphictyonic council, should be dismantled; and for ever deprived of all their former privileges; and excluded from all intercourse with the temple, and the great council [A].

III. THAT the Phocians should be obliged to deliver up their arms and horses: and that they should not be permitted the use of either of these until they had discharged the fine originally imposed on them, and made full restitution to the god for the depredations committed in his temple.

IV. THAT such of the Phocians, as had shared in the sacrilege, should be regarded and treated as impious persons,

[A] SEE the preliminary dissertation on the council of Amphictyons, in which the reader will find this article enlarged upon, which has exercised the commentators on Diodorus.

excluded

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excluded from all rights of society, and denied all protection or asylum in their country. § 107. III.

V. THAT all the cities of Phocis (those three mentioned in the second article only excepted) should be demolished and reduced to distinct hamlets, containing no more than sixty houses each, at the distance of a stadium from each other.

VI. THAT the Phocians should be permitted to cultivate their lands, from the produce of which they should pay every year sixty talents to Apollo, until they completely indemnified the temple.

VII. [B] THAT the Corinthians, who, with the other states of inferiour note, had united

[B] A LEARNED commentator on Diodorus hath taken notice of some difficulties in this article, which have escaped the observation of those writers who have had occasion to treat of these affairs. History, as he observes, is silent as to the privilege which the article supposes the Corinthians possessed, or rather seems to contradict such supposition. Nor is this people mentioned in the former part of Diodorus among the allies of Phocis. No mention is here made of any punishment inflicted on Lacedaemon : and yet we are told

Book III. 2

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 3.

united with the Phocians in the sacred war, as a punishment for the assistance and support which they had granted to sacrilege, should lose their privilege of presiding at the Pythian games: which privilege should, for the future, be enjoyed by Philip, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Thessalians: together with the right of superintending the oracle.

VIII. THAT the arms of the Phocians should be broken in pieces and burnt; and their horses sold by auction, the produce to be appropriated to the indemnification of the temple.

IX. THAT it should be the care of the Amphictyons to procure all the expiations and reparations due to the god and to his temple.

X. THAT they should exert themselves, with all due diligence, to make such regulations as might re-establish the peace and tranquillity of Greece.

told by Pausanias (l. 10. c. 8.) that they were also deprived of the right of assisting in the Amphictyonic assembly. For these reasons he supposes that the article has descended to us imperfect and mutilated.

See the Note on Diod. V. 2. p. 129. Edit. Wessel.

AND

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AND now the enemies of Phocis, irritated by ancient animosities, by the toils, and dangers, and distresses of a bloody and obstinate war of ten years, with all the unrelenting fury of men who regarded themselves as the instruments of divine justice, prepared to execute the terrible decree; while the wretched Phocians submitted with that dismay and consternation which so momentous an event must naturally have produced. Some cities indeed, driven to despair by finding all their hopes cruelly disappointed, and justly dreading the remorseless severity of their adversaries, discovered a disposition to resist, but were instantly stormed; razed to their foundations; and the inhabitants reduced to slavery.

SECT. III.

Lat. Gr. Hist. 1. 2. 2. 2.

Dem. de Cor. sect. 12.

Lileum, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamia, Panopea, and Daulis, eminent cities even from the earliest ages, whose names were perpetually resounding in the ears of the Grecians, consigned to immortal fame by the verse of Homer, their great and darling poet, were all treated with the greatest severities. Erochus, Charadra, Amphiclea, Neonè, Tethronium, and Drymæa, cities which had been exposed to all the calamities, and sustained all the fury, of the Persian war, with others of less note, were now, without regard to their ancient sufferings or merits, involved in the general ravage. Where revenge and cruelty were not exerted in their full force, the miserable

Pausan. in Phoc.

Dem. de Cor. sect. 12.

Book III.

Dem. de fal.

Lect. sect.

22.

miserable sufferers looked on without daring to drop a tear, or breathe a sigh, while their walls, their public edifices, their temples, and the tombs of their ancestors, were subverted and demolished. Not were they long suffered to lament over the ruins of their former greatness; but, like herds of brute creatures, driven by their insulting enemies from their settlements, and proudly commanded to repair, without delay, to the habitations appointed for them. The tranquillity, the order, and the silence, with which all this severity was executed, heightened the distress, and formed a spectacle more affecting than the outrages of a bloody war.

At Athens, every account of Philip's motions was received with an eager and inquisitive impatience, and, according to the different representations made by the public speakers, elevated the hopes, or awakened the fears, of that misguided people. The news of his having passed through the Streights began to create uneasiness and apprehensions: but these were speedily allayed by the insinuations and assurances of those popular leaders, who were either the dupes or the creatures of the king of Macedon. "My countrymen," cried Æschines, "be not alarmed, nor fear any dangerous consequences

Dem. de
Corona,
sect. 12.

“ sequences from Philip’s marching through Sect. III.
 “ Thermopylae : beware of all heat and impa-
 “ tience ; and rest assured, that every thing
 “ will succeed agreeably to your warmest wishes.
 “ In a few days you will hear that Philip hath
 “ declared himself a friend to those against whom
 “ he now marches with all the appearance of
 “ hostilities ; and that they who now regard him
 “ as their firmest ally, will immediately find
 “ him their declared and inveterate enemy.
 “ Appearances and professions are deceitful :
 “ the surest bond of friendship is an union of
 “ interests : and it is equally the interest both
 “ of Philip, and of the Phocians, to be deli-
 “ vered from the insolence and stupidity of the
 “ Thebans.”

By such fallacious assurances did this abused and misguided people suffer themselves to be deceived into an unreserved confidence and security ; when, in five days after the destruction of Phocis, and the decree of the Amphictyonic council, the news of these important events was brought to Athens. The Athenians were, at this time, assembled at the Piræus, their famous port, on some affairs relating to their navy, full of expectations and fair prospects, implicitly depending on the professions of Philip, and the representations of his creatures. In a

*Dem. de
falsa Leg.
Sect. 30.*

Book III.

moment astonishment and consternation were spread through the city; all was tumult and confusion: they now found their great rival on their confines, united with Thebes: and every man expected a powerful and formidable force, formed by the union of two such dangerous adversaries, to appear instantly before their walls. As their hopes had been sanguine, their disappointment was, in proportion, terrible. The following decree was instantly made, which plainly shews that they regarded their condition as in the utmost degree alarming and perplexing.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
40.

“ IN the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the
“ twenty-first day of the month Maemacterion,
“ at an assembly extraordinary, convened by
“ the authority of the generals, prytanes, and
“ senate. At the motion of Callisthenes, it is
“ RESOLVED,

“ THAT no citizen of Athens, on any pre-
“ tence whatsoever, be permitted to pass the
“ night in the country. But that every man
“ shall be confined within the city, or the pre-
“ cincts of the Piraeus, excepting only such
“ persons as may be appointed to the defence
“ of some post. That every such person shall
“ be obliged to maintain his station, without
“ presuming

“presuming to absent himself either by night
 “or day. That whoever refuses to pay due
 “obedience to this resolution and decree, shall
 “incur the penalties ordained for traitors, un-
 “less he can allege some necessary cause, to be
 “approved of by the general immediately in
 “command, the treasurer, and the secretary of
 “the senate, who shall have the sole power of
 “judging of such allegations. That all effects,
 “now in the country, shall be instantly removed;
 “those within the distance of * one hundred
 “and twenty stadia, into the city or the Piraeus:
 “those at any greater distance, to Elufis, Phyle,
 “Aphidna, Rhamnusium, and Sunium.”

* About
 twelve
 miles.

WHEN the first surprise was over, and their
 terrour, in some degree, dissipated, resentment
 and indignation succeeded, and possessed them
 with equal violence. They called loudly for
 arms; levies were prepared for the relief of
 Phocis; and Proxenus, their admiral, was or-
 dered to direct his course towards that country.
 But Philip, who was duly attentive to allay this
 heat, now addressed a letter to the Athenians,
 conceived in the following terms:

Demost. 4:
 fal. Leg.
 sect. 20.

“PHILIP king of Macedon, to the Senate
 “and People of Athens, health.”

“KNOW ye, that we have passed the streights
 “of Thermopylae, and reduced Phocis. We

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“ have stationed our garrisons in such towns as
 “ have submitted, and acknowledged our autho-
 “ rity. And those, which have presumed to re-
 “ sist our force, we have taken by assault, re-
 “ duced the inhabitants to slavery, and razed
 “ their habitations to the ground. But, being
 “ informed that you are making dispositions for
 “ the support of these people, we, by these pre-
 “ sents, recommend to you to spare yourselves
 “ the pains of such an ineffectual attempt.
 “ Your conduct must certainly appear extremely
 “ inequitable and extravagant, in arming against
 “ us, with whom you have so lately concluded
 “ a treaty. If you have determined to shew
 “ no regard to your engagements, we shall only
 “ wait for the commencement of hostilities, to
 “ exert a resolution, on our part, no less vi-
 “ gorous and formidable.”

Demost. de
 falsa Leg.
 sect. 39.

THIS letter, thus expressed with a royal and
 commanding brevity, had the effect which the
 king of Macedon justly expected from the va-
 riable dispositions of this people. Their terrour
 had been succeeded by resentment; and this re-
 sentment was equally transient, and now gave
 way to confusion and vexation. The brother
 of Æschines, and his colleagues, arrived at the
 same time. They had been informed, in Eu-
 boea, of the fate of Phocis; that the two and
 twenty

twenty cities, which composed this state, had been destroyed in less than two and twenty days; and therefore, deeming it to no purpose to continue their progress, returned immediately home, where, in the present dispositions of the people, they were received with sufficient dissatisfaction,

SECT. III.
Aliud Arg.
in Orat.
eand.
Luccehina
Not. in
Orat. de
Pace.

THE popular leaders at Athens, they who were in the Macedonian interest, and they who opposed it, had now an ample field for haranguing, and were busily employed in soothing, or inflaming; in accusing others, or defending themselves. But the partisans of Philip were visibly sinking in their credit and influence, and obliged to make use of every artifice to preserve any remains of popularity. Æschines no longer affected sickness: he forgot all his fears of the Theban resentment; and, without any public character, or commission from the state, without regard to the late decree which forbade any man to stir from within the walls of Athens, he now repaired to Philip. As he had no demands to make, he pretended that the sole object of this journey was to employ his credit and abilities in favour of the wretched Phocians, and to prevail on Philip to mitigate their severities. The Oetians, a people bordering on Thessaly, and who, according to Æschines, had a right to assist in the council of Amphictyons,

Demost. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 40.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 44.

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phistyonis, irritated by some particular injuries, or earnest to express a peculiar zeal against profanation, urged vehemently that the Phocians should suffer the whole rigour of the law against sacrilege, which ordained, that all those who had arrived at the years of puberty, and had shared in the guilt, should be precipitated from rocks without mercy. Æschines, as if commissioned by his state, spoke in favour of the Phocians, was heard with attention, and easily prevailed to have this bloody sentence averted. Thus he acted a part, whose merit he might magnify at home, and gave Philip an opportunity of appearing to oblige the Athenians, when neither his interest demanded, nor his natural dispositions prompted him to, any unnecessary or outrageous barbarities.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
40.

THE members and assessors in the Amphictyonic council were now assembled in the presence of Philip, to the number of two hundred, who entertained them at a magnificent feast, where Æschines was also present. The guests sounded the praises of the great, the brave, the pious king of Macedon, chaunted his victories, and hymned forth their prayers to the gods for his future prosperity. In these, many of them were entirely sincere; yet some would afterwards have gladly retracted. The Thebans were, of all others,

others, most ardent in their applause; and with good reason. Orchomenus, Coria, Coronaea, Hyampolis, and Tilphosæum, the conquests lately made by the Phocians in Boeotia, were all given up to them; and the affairs of Boeotia determined entirely in the manner most agreeable to their interests. Here they now began to give a free course to their insolence and tyranny; so that the inhabitants of Orchomenus, who had ever been averse to their government, thought it necessary to secure the safety of their persons, by a stipulation, in which they consented to quit their present settlement; while others of the Boeotians, who had shared in the guilt and punishment of Phocis, or now found the tyranny of Thebes intolerable, sought an asylum in Athens, where they were received with the utmost kindness. Philip, in order to increase his popularity, seems to have espoused the cause of the oppressed in a manner by no means pleasing to Thebes, and to have, with some difficulty, prevailed on them to treat their dependent states with greater moderation. Some disputes seem to have thus arisen between the king of Macedon and the Thebans concerning the settlement of Boeotia: and appearances were managed with so much art, that the partisans of Philip were not ashamed to declare to the Athenians, that this prince was really forced

SECT. III.

Æschin. de
fal. Leg.
sect. 43.
Dem. de
Pacc, sect. 5.

Phil. 2.
sect. 3.

Book III.

into those measures which seemed to prove his attachment to Thebes; and that, surrounded as he was by the Theban and Thessalian forces, he could not, with safety, oppose the demands of these people.

Olymp. 208.
Y. 3.
Demost.
Orat. de
Pace.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16, sect.
60.

THE great council of Amphictyons was now convened at Delphi, where Philip appeared [c], and appointed his representatives to sit and vote in that assembly, in the place of the Phocians. All the Amphictyons, then present, acknowledged him as their colleague by a formal decree; in which was inserted the treaty of general pacification; and all the acts against the wretched Phocians, and their adherents, ratified and confirmed. As the council was formed entirely of those who had been particularly fa-

[c] WHILE Philip was now resident at Delphi, he there met a man called Arcadion, who had affected to express some particular resentment to him, and had industriously avoided all intercourse with him. The king, who perhaps knew what use might be made of this man, accosted him with asking, how far he had determined to fly from him? to which Arcadion answered by a parody on a line of Homer:

Ev'n to that Land where Philip ne'er was known.

The apposite and sprightly answer made his peace at once. The king smiled, invited him to supper, and all animosities ceased.

ATHENAE. l. 6. p. 249.

voured

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voured by the king of Macedon, and were entirely devoted to his interest; every thing that he could dictate, every thing that could be supposed agreeable to him, was readily enacted. But, in an affair of such consequence as a change in the Grecian body, and the introduction of a new member, Philip justly resolved to remove all pretences of future altercation; and, for this purpose, circular letters were dispatched to all the absent states who had a right to share in the proceedings of the great council, inviting them to appear, and demanding their concurrence in all the late transactions [D]. The Athenians affected to express their grief for the fate of Phocis, by refusing to send their usual deputies to the Pythian games, (which were just now celebrated, and to which Philip sent some of his courtiers to preside) or their representatives to the present council of Amphietyons. But, however they might have been pleased to avoid all appearance of concurring in transactions calculated to oblige and aggrandize the Macedonian, it soon became necessary for them publicly to declare their opinion of the late acts of the

Sacr. III.

Demost. de
falsa Leg.
sect. 40.

[D] THE Lacedaemonians, saith the French writer of the life of Philip, (vol. ii. p. 126.) absolutely refused their concurrence. But, if we are to believe Pausanias, they were deprived of all right of sending deputies to the council of Amphietyons; and therefore could not have been at all applied to. See note [B] on this section.

Amphietyons;

Book III. Amphictyons; for they, among the others, received the invitation to accede to Philip's election, and to acknowledge Macedon as a member of the Hellenic body.

Dem. de
Pace, sect.
1-8.

THE people now assembled to consider of this demand, stung with vexation and disappointment, sensible of their weak and mistaken conduct, still fired with their national vanity, and mortified at the view of that power which they themselves had permitted their rival to acquire. Philip's deputies were introduced, and their letters read: the assembly, as usual, was distracted and inflamed: levies, subsidies, and armaments, were spoken of; and loud invectives uttered against the insolence of Philip's demand. Aeschines, who appeared, and strenuously pleaded the cause of Macedon, was received with loud shouts of resentment and indignation. With an affected ease and contempt he turned to the Macedonian envoys who stood near him: "You see," said this abandoned flatterer, "those numbers, how bold, how clamorous at home! notwithstanding all this violence, believe me, there is scarcely a man among them who would act with any vigour in the field!"

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
36.

DEMOSTHENES seems, on this occasion, to have been affected deeply by the view of Philip's

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lip's close attachment to the other states of Secret. III.
Greece, which appeared, to him, to render it
a thing impracticable for Athens to contend
alone with their united powers. They, who
only consider him as a vehement speaker, who
usually exerted all the force and art of elo-
quence to warm his hearers with resolution,
and to animate them against the daring attempts
of the Macedonian, are inclined to believe, that
the oration, entitled, *On the Peace*, ascribed to
Demosthenes, was not pronounced on this oc-
casion: but they who consider him as a states-
man and a patriot, as well as a popular leader,
insist, that a due attention to the difference of
circumstances and conjunctures, and a due regard
to the safety and tranquillity of his country,
must have prompted him to suppress an untimely
zeal; to moderate and correct, as well as, on
other occasions, to animate and inflame. Not-
withstanding all his fears of the Macedonian
power, notwithstanding all his usual opposition,
how sincere, and how violent soever, still he
might have justly thought, that the Athenians
had already made Philip too many and too im-
portant concessions to enter into an unequal
contest with him at this time about what he
calls an empty title. It is objected by Libanius,
in his argument to this oration, that he after-
wards accuses Æschines of having proposed to
the

De Pace in
fin.
Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
36.

Book III.

the assembly to acknowledge Philip as an Amphictyon, a motion which even Philocrates himself, though the boldest and most violent partisan of Macedon, yet never dared to make. Could Demosthenes, therefore, have ventured to accuse his rival, if he himself had afforded him an opportunity of retorting the accusation? It may be observed in answer to this, that whoever reads over the oration on the Peace with attention, will find that it contains no formal motion or proposal of any kind; nay, that it expressly guards against these: let us hear the orator himself, in the conclusion of his harangue: "What then," saith some one, "shall these apprehensions make us yield to his demands?" "Is this your motion?—Not at all!" And, when he afterwards came to accuse Æschines, he might have thought it convenient to urge a point, which was likely to load him with popular odium, whatever his own opinion had been on the same occasion. The least restriction or reserve on his side, improved and represented as the distance of time would permit, might have effectually obviated any recrimination. And the silence of Æschines is at least as good a proof, that this oration did not afford him a pretence for retorting the accusation on his rival, as that it was not at all delivered.

But

BUT one point most critics are agreed in: that the oration on the Peace is at least the genuine composition of Demosthenes. And it is particularly worthy of attention, as it points out one part of his character, which is not generally considered with due regard; that of a sage and consummate politician, perfectly acquainted with the characters, sentiments, interests, and dispositions of all the several powers and states, by whose motions Athens might be affected. The beginning of his address is artfully calculated to guard against all suspicions of his sincerity; to remind the people of the integrity and resolution with which the orator had delivered his sentiments on former occasions; and thus gradually to prepare his hearers to receive an opinion as the true effect of public spirit, which, in their present dispositions, they seemed sufficiently inclined to reject as dishonourable, and apparently inconsistent with the usual vehemence of the speaker. He then proceeds more directly to the object of their present deliberation:

“AND now to give my sentiments on the present occasion: whether subsidies, or alliances, or whatever schemes are concerting for the public good, one point must be secured: the continuance of the present peace. Not that it is so very excellent, or so worthy of you: but,
“ of

Book III. **“**of what kind soever it may be, it were more
“for the interest of your affairs that it had never
“been concluded, than that now, when it is
“concluded, you should infringe it: for we
“have suffered ourselves to be deprived of many
“advantages, which would have given our arms
“much more security and strength,

“In the next place, we must be careful not
“to drive those to extremities, who are now
“assembled, and call themselves the council
“of Amphictyons; nor to afford them a pre-
“tence for a general war against us. Were we
“again engaged with Philip for Amphipolis, or
“any such private matter of dispute, in which
“neither Thessalians, nor Argians, nor The-
“bans, were concerned; in my opinion, none
“of these would join against us; and least of
“all—let me be heard without interruption—
“the Thebans: not that they wish well to us,
“or would not willingly recommend themselves
“to Philip: but they are perfectly sensible
“(however mean their understandings may be
“thought) that, were they to engage in a war
“with you, the evils would all fall on them;
“the advantages others would lie ready to inter-
“cept. They will, therefore, never be betrayed
“into such a quarrel, unless the cause be gene-
“ral. In like manner, another war with the
“Thebans

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“Thebans for Oropus, or any such private
 “cause, could not, I think, distress us: for
 “there are those who would join either with us,
 “or them, to repel an invasion, but in offensive
 “measures would concur with neither. This
 “is the true nature, the very spirit of alliances.
 “There are none so much attached to us or
 “Thebes, as to desire that we should maintain
 “our own power, and triumph over our com-
 “petitor. To be secure they would all wish us
 “for their own sakes, but that either of us
 “should reduce the other to subjection, and so
 “be enabled to give law to them, not one
 “would bear.

Secr. III.

“WHERE then lies the danger, what are you
 “to guard against? That general pretence for
 “uniting against us, which the war now in agi-
 “tation may afford the states. For if the Argi-
 “ans, and the Messenians, and the Megalopo-
 “litans, and such other of the Peloponnesians
 “as are in the same interest, should make it a
 “cause of quarrel, that we have sought a treaty
 “with the Lacedaemonians, and seem to have
 “favoured their designs: if the Thebans, in-
 “censed as they are said to be at present, should
 “become yet more incensed at our harbouring
 “their exiles, and taking every occasion of
 “declaring ourselves implacably averse to them:
 “if

Book III. "if the Theſſalians ſhould reſent our reception
"of the fugitive Phocians; and Philip our op-
"poſing his admission into the council of Am-
"phiſtyons; I fear, that, to revenge thoſe pri-
"vate quarrels, they may uſe the authority of
"this council, to give ſanction to a general war
"againſt us; and, in the violence of reſent-
"ment, forget even their own intereſt, as it
"happened in the Phocian war. You are not
"ignorant that the Thebans, and Philip, and
"the Theſſalians, although they had by no means
"the ſame views, have yet all conſpired to the
"very ſame purpoſes. The Thebans, for inſtance,
"were not able to hinder Philip, from paſſing
"and becoming maſter of Thermopylae, nor
"from coming in, after all their toils, and de-
"priving them of the glory; (for as to poſſeſ-
"ſions, and the acquisition of territories, the
"Thebans have ſucceeded happily; but, in
"point of honour and reputation, they have ſuf-
"fered moſt ſhamefully). If Philip did not
"paſs, they were to expect nothing; it was
"highly diſagreeable to them; yet, for the ſake
"of Orchomenus and Coronaea, which they
"greatly deſired, but were not able to take, they
"choſe to endure all this. And yet there are
"perſons who dare to aſſert, that Philip did not
"ſurrender theſe cities to the Thebans freely,
"but was compelled. Away with ſuch pre-
"tences!

“ tences! I am satisfied, that this was equally
 “ his concern, with the gaining the streights, the
 “ glory of the war, the honour of deciding it,
 “ and the direction of the Pythian games; and
 “ these were the greatest objects of his most ear-
 “ nest wishes. As to the Thessalians, they nei-
 “ ther desired to see the Thebans aggrandized,
 “ nor Philip (for in their power they saw danger
 “ to themselves); but two things they greatly
 “ desired, a seat in the council of Amphictyons;
 “ and the wealth of Delphos; and thence were
 “ they induced to join in the confederacy. Thus
 “ you may observe, that private interest often-
 “ times engages men in measures quite opposite
 “ to their inclinations. And therefore it is your
 “ part to proceed with the utmost caution. T

“ WHAT then,” saith some one, “ shall these
 “ apprehensions make us yield to his demands?
 “ Is this your motion? Not at all! I only mean
 “ to shew you, how you may maintain your dig-
 “ nity, avoid a war, and approve your mode-
 “ ration and justice to the world. As to those
 “ violent men, who think we should brave all
 “ dangers, nor foresee the difficulties attending
 “ upon arms, I wish them to consider this. We
 “ allow the Thebans to possess Oropus: should
 “ we be asked the motive, we would, answer to
 “ avoid a war. In like manner, by the present

Book III.

“treaty, we yield Amphipolis to Philip: we
 “suffer the Cardians to be distinguished from
 “the other inhabitants of the Chersonesus; the
 “king of Caria to possess Chios, and Cos, and
 “Rhodes; and the Byzantines to cruize for
 “prizes: and this, because we think that peace
 “and tranquillity will produce more advantages
 “than violence and contests about these points.
 “And, if we are thus directed in our conduct
 “towards each particular state, and where our
 “interest is highly and intimately concerned, it
 “would be perfect weakness and absurdity to
 “provoke the resentment of them all for a
 “shadow.”

THE final determination of the assembly was agreeable to these his sentiments. It was resolved to acknowledge Philip as an Amphictyon, and to accede to all the dispositions made in the late council at Delphos. And now it was that Isocrates addressed his famous discourse to Philip, in which he exhorts him to unite with the states of Greece, and to lead them against their common enemy the Persian.

To give a just idea of this performance, it may be sufficient to copy the abstract of it by Monsieur * Rollin, and those reflections which it suggested to that grave historian:

• Histoire
 de Phil.

“THE

“The scope of this discourse was to exhort
 “Philip to take advantage of the peace he had
 “just before concluded, in order to reconcile all
 “the Grecian states, and afterwards to turn his
 “arms against the king of Persia. The business
 “was to engage in this plan four cities, on which
 “all the rest depended, Athens, Sparta, Thebes,
 “and Argos. He confesses, that had Sparta or
 “Athens been as powerful as formerly, he
 “should have been far from making such a pro-
 “posal, which he was sensible they would never
 “approve, and which the pride of those two
 “republics, while sustained and augmented by
 “success, would reject with disdain. But that
 “now, as the most powerful cities of Greece,
 “wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and
 “humbled, in their turns, by fatal reverses of
 “fortune, have equally an interest in laying
 “down their arms, and living in peace, pursu-
 “ant to the example which the Athenians had
 “began to set them; the present is the most fa-
 “vourable opportunity Philip could have, to
 “reconcile and unite the several cities of Greece.

“In case he (Philip) should be so happy as
 “to succeed in such a project, so glorious and
 “beneficial a success would raise him above
 “whatever had appeared most august in Greece.
 “But this project in itself, though it should not

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"have so happy an effect as he might expect
 "from it, would yet infallibly gain him the
 "esteem, the affection, and confidence, of all
 "the states of Greece; advantages infinitely
 "preferable to the taking of cities, and all the
 "conquests he might hope to obtain. "was to conquer all the rest depended Athens, Sparta, Thebes."
 "Some persons indeed, who were prejudiced
 "against Philip, represent and exclaim against
 "him as a crafty prince, who gives a specious
 "pretext to his actions, but, at the same time,
 "has in reality no other object in view but the
 "enslaving of Greece. "Hocrates, either from a
 "too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing
 "Philip into his views, supposes, that rumours,
 "so injurious as these, have no manner of founda-
 "tion; it not being probable that a prince,
 "who glories in being descended from Hercules,
 "the deliverer of Greece, should think of in-
 "vading and possessing himself of it. But these
 "very reports, which are so capable of black-
 "ening his name, and of fullying all his glory,
 "should prompt him to demonstrate the falsity
 "of them, in the presence of all Greece, by the
 "least suspicious of proofs; by leaving and
 "maintaining each city in the full possession of
 "its laws and liberties; by removing, with the
 "utmost care, all suspicions of partiality; in
 "not espousing the interest of one people against
 "another;

“another; in winning the confidence of all men: Sacr. III.
 “by a noble disinterestedness, and an invariable
 “love of justice: in fine, by aspiring to no other
 “title than that of the reconciler of the divisions
 “of Greece, a title far more glorious than that
 “of conqueror.

“It is in the king of Persia's dominions he
 “ought to merit this last title. The conquest
 “of it is open and sure to him, in case he should
 “succeed in pacifying the troubles of Greece:
 “He should call to mind, that Agesilaus, with
 “no other forces than those of Sparta, shook
 “the Persian throne; and would infallibly have
 “subverted it, had he not been recalled into
 “Greece by the intestine divisions which then
 “broke out. The signal victory of the ten
 “thousand under Clearchus, and their trium-
 “phant retreat, in the sight of innumerable ar-
 “mies, prove what might be expected from the
 “joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks,
 “when commanded by Philip, against a prince
 “inferiour in every respect to him whom Cyrus
 “had endeavoured to dethrone.

“Isocrates concludes with declaring, that
 “one would believe the gods had hitherto
 “granted Philip so long a train of successes,
 “with no other view but that he might be en-
 “abled

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"abled to form and execute the glorious enter-
 "prise, the plan of which he laid before him.
 "He reduces the counsel he gives to three
 "heads: that this prince should govern his own
 "empire with wisdom and justice; should heal
 "the divisions between the neighbouring nations
 "and all Greece, without desiring to possess any
 "part of it himself; and, this being done, that
 "he should turn his victorious arms against a
 "country, which, from all ages, had been the
 "enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their
 "destruction. It must be confessed, that this
 "is a most noble plan, and highly worthy of a
 "great prince. But Isocrates had a very false
 "idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch
 "would ever put it in execution. Philip did
 "not possess the equity, moderation, or disin-
 "terestedness, which such a project required.
 "He really intended to attack Persia, but was
 "persuaded that it was his business to secure
 "himself first of Greece, which indeed he was
 "determined to do, not by services but force.
 "He did not endeavour either to win over or to
 "persuade nations, but to subject and reduce
 "them. As, on his side, he had no manner of
 "regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of
 "others by himself, and was for assuring himself
 "of them by much stronger ties than those of
 "friendship, gratitude, and sincerity."

holds

E I

THREE

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THESE are the sentiments of the French writer; and we may securely concur with him in affirming, that the virtuous simplicity of the rhetorician did by no means suit with the active and vigorous ambition, and the subtle and designing policy, of the king of Macedon. He was now sailing in the full tide of popularity, universally honoured, admired, and celebrated. The Amphictyons decreed a statue to their new colleague, which was erected in the Delphian temple, above that of Archidamus; and, by an accident sufficiently singular, the golden statue of Phryné, the celebrated courtesan, erected, as Crates the Cynic expressed it, by the intemperance of the Greeks, was situated in the middle between the figures of those two illustrious princes: as it were to mortify their pride, and to remind them how little such public honours were to be valued, which an infamous and contemptible prostitute was thus allowed to share with them.

THUS did Philip, with so much ease and success, decide a contest which had so long raged in Greece, and laid the foundation of the final subjection of that nation, under pretence of asserting the cause of Apollo. He committed to the Thessalians the care of the temple of Delphi, and the administration of all its revenues;

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Suet. III.

Athenae. I.
13. p. 591.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 3.

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Dem. de fal.
Les. sect.
40.Oliv. l. 20.
p. 133.

which they were to employ in repairing the effects of the late confusion and depredation. Pompous sacrifices were made to express his grateful acknowledgments to the god. But the politicians of Greece were sensible that Apollo was more indebted to Philip, than Philip to Apollo. For the reduction of Phocis was, in reality, a master-piece of address and policy, which this prince alone could have effected. To this it was necessary, that the Thebans, the Thessalians, and the Locrians, three states opposite in their views and dispositions, should all act in concert. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians were to be kept in suspense and inaction, and amused by promises rather specious than sincere, and which were to be observed just so far as convenience permitted: the name of Phocis was to be destroyed; the people suffered to subsist. He was to seize the pass of Thermopylae as it were without design, while the states of Greece, both allies and enemies, were all equally interested, and many of them inclined to oppose him. In short, he was to secure the concurrence both of those he punished, and those whose cause he supported and avenged. These means, which, in the hands of a less able master of intrigue, must have proved inconsistent with each other, were all reconciled in his, and all conspired to the great end

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end he had so long meditated, and to which he now successfully attained. Suet. III.

In all this the people of Greece saw nothing but the vengeance of the god inflicted on the sacrilegious prophaners of his temple: they lavished their encomiums on the prince who was now preparing chains for them, as the instrument of divine justice, and the pious and zealous assertor of the honour of Apollo; and looked with satisfaction on every misfortune of every inhabitant of Phocis, as a manifest declaration of the displeasure, and the execution of the just wrath, of heaven. Grave and judicious historians have not thought it beneath them to observe, that even the women, who shared in the national guilt, shared also in the punishment. A lady of Phocis, say they, young and beautiful, and till then virtuous, having accepted, as a present from her husband, the necklace of Helen, which was dedicated to Apollo, became enamoured with a youth of Locris, abandoned herself to his sensuality, and died in a state of most shameful prostitution. She who had received the bracelet of Eriphyle, another secret deposit, entered into a conspiracy against her husband, and was consumed in the flames of her house, to which her son set fire.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect.
64.

THE

Book III.

on The wretched fate of the three first chiefs of Phocis in the late war, Philomelus, Onomarchus, and Phayllus, have afforded to historians ample matter of religious reflection. Nor have they failed to observe, that the same divine justice, which destroyed these leaders, pursued their successor Phaleucus.

Sec. 62, 63.

He embarked at Corinth, with a design of passing into Italy: making his forces believe that he had been invited by the Lucanians. But his officers, who were not satisfied as to his real intentions, obliged him, by force, to make a descent on the coast of Peloponnesus. From hence he persuaded them to reembark, and, passing into Crete, seized the city of Lycetus, a Spartan colony, from whence he was driven out by Archidamus. He then proceeded to lay siege to Cydonia, where he perished by the flames of some of his machines, which were set on fire by lightning; or, according to other writers, was assassinated by a soldier, in revenge of some severities which he had inflicted on him. His army was pursued by the besieged with great slaughter; they who survived the defeat passed into Peloponnesus, where they entered into the service of some Eleans, who had been banished on account of having shared in the guilt of Phocis, and were attempting to regain their native settlement

tlement by force of arms. The inhabitants of Elis called the Arcadians to their assistance. The exiles were defeated, and four thousand of their auxiliaries taken prisoners, and divided between the Arcadians and Eleans. They whom the Arcadians led away were reduced to slavery and perished in chains. They who remained in the hands of the Eleans were condemned to death as sacrilegious persons, and shot with arrows, or precipitated from rocks. And Demosthenes imputes this massacre to Philip, and inveighs against it as a notorious instance of his insincerity and cruelty. Those of the Phocian army, who escaped from this last defeat, perished in Sicily, in a sedition which they had excited against Timoleon.

Sacr. III.

Phil. 4.
sect. 3.

Diod. ut
supra.

SUCH was the end of Phaleucus and his eight thousand soldiers. They perished unpitied and unlamented; while every severe stroke, which fell upon them, served to increase the veneration with which the great king of Macedon, the avenger of Apollo, was now universally beheld.

T H E

SECT. III.

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this called the Arcadians to their assistance. The
exiles were detached, and four thousand of their
auxiliaries taken prisoners, and divided between
the Arcadians and Eleans. They whom the
Arcadians set away were reduced to slavery and
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escaped from this last danger, perished in Sicily,
in a sedition which they had excited against
Timoleon.

Phil. 4.
sect. 3.

Book of
Isaiah

Such was the end of Phalaris and his eight
thousand soldiers. They perished unquied and
unlamented; while every tower stood, which
fell upon them, served to increase the vengeance
with which the great king of Macedon, the
stranger of Apollo, was now universally belied.

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amused, and might, with good reason, expect

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which had lately been lavished upon them. He

therefore now affected a new form of life.

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PHILIP had now amply fulfilled his en-

gagements to the Thebans and Thessa-

lians, and gratified their revenge even to a

degree of severity, to which his own natural

temper, uninfluenced by motives of interest or

convenience, was by no means inclined; and

which could not but prove displeasing to the

other states, who were still, if possible, to be

amused,

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Dem. Orat.
in Liter.
sect. 2.

Oliv. l. 12.
p. 142.
Dem. Phil.
2. sect. 3.

amused, and might, with good reason, expect something from all those magnificent promises which had lately been lavished upon them. He therefore now affected to shew some pity to the fate of the miserable Phocians. A garrison, composed of Macedonians, had been stationed at Nicæa, to secure, on any future occasion, his peaceable passage through the streights; and this garrison was said to be directed to protect the remains of the Phocian state, and to do them every act of kindness which might be afforded, without giving umbrage to their enemies. Having thus made such dispositions as were deemed necessary for his honour and his interest, he marched back to Macedon, elated by the consciousness of the power and reputation he had acquired; and meditating still greater and more extensive enterprizes.

Olymp.
108. Y. 4.
Just. l. 8.

Book IV.
sect. 2.

HERE he was, for some time, employed in fortifying and embellishing his dominions. He changed the situation of some cities, transferred the inhabitants from one settlement to another, and made all such alterations and dispositions as the facility and convenience of commerce, or the security of his frontier, demanded, without regard to the murmurings or complaints of his subjects, whose affections were fixed to their ancient habitations: and however Justin may in-

veigh

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veigh against these transactions, however pathetically he may lament the hard fate of those who were thus removed; such dispositions wise and equitable princes have often deemed by no means cruel or unwarrantable. It may also be supposed that the people, thus removed, had been conquered in war, or had forfeited the rights of subjects by their rebellion, or other crimes. And Philip sometimes punished the guilty, by transporting them to distant habitations, where the opportunities for their evil practices were less frequent, and the contagion less likely to be diffused. Two cities in Thrace he thus peopled with colonies formed of the most abandoned among his subjects, to whom he is said to have added those of the Phocians, whose peculiar guilt had reduced them to the condition of slaves, and who had been given up to his absolute disposal. One of these cities, built among the people called Asti, was known by the name of Cabylè or Calybè: the other, situated under mount Rhodopè, was called Poneropolis, *the city of villains*: which disgraceful title was afterwards lost in that of Philippolis. Its situation gave it also the name of Trimontium, *the three hills*. The manners of its inhabitants improved by degrees, till the scandal of its origin was entirely forgotten: and, in after times, it had the honour, not of giving birth to

SECT. I.

Bernecerus
in Just. loc.
cit.

Oliv. l. 10.
p. 118.

Strabo, l. 7.
p. 320.

Plin. Hist.
Nat. l. 4.
c. 18.
Suid. in
Δουλιαν
τροίαν.

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* L. 10. p.

113.

Evagrii

Hist. Eccl.

l. 2. c. 1.

Orat. de

Haloneſo,

p. 31.

Dem. de
Halon.

Marcian, the husband of Pulcheria, as * Olivier hath asserted, but of reckoning that emperor among its adopted citizens. To Thasus also Philip, in like manner, sent a colony composed of those of his subjects, by whose absence his kingdom might be purged; and made use of the ships of Athens to transport them. That state had this year equipped a magnificent fleet, with what design doth not appear; whether to keep their soldiers and mariners in action, or to display their force and greatness. Their conduct towards Philip was equivocal at least, if not inconsistent: in consequence of the alliance they had lately concluded, they lent him their vessels to transport his exiles; yet the consciousness of their own weak conduct so soured their dispositions, and the view of Philip's power and honours filled them with so much envy, and raised such apprehensions in their minds, that they took every occasion that presented itself of traversing and perplexing his designs, and of opposing and affronting his allies. Mutual dissatisfactions, complaints and remonstrances, were the natural consequences of these their motions; and they soon found it necessary to send an embassy to Macedon, to justify their conduct, to recriminate in their turn, and to demand an explanation and amendment of several articles in the late treaty. On this occasion, Philip did not think

think it necessary to make use of his usual dissimulation: he avowed his resentment, rejected their apologies with disdain; and even banished from his court the poet Xenocrides, who, at this time, resided at Pella, and had entertained the orator Hegesippus (who was at the head of this embassy) together with his colleagues, with the affection due to his countrymen.

Secr. I.

Dem. de fal.
Leg. sect.
92.

BUT though Philip repented, yet he did not fear, the attempts of Athens; nor could any motions of this state interrupt his schemes. He now carried his arms into Illyria and Dardania, possibly to convince the Grecians that he had no further designs on any of their states, or to repress some commotions which might have arisen among his barbarous neighbours, and to punish some attempts against the peace of Macedon. While he was engaged in this expedition, extending his dominions, and spreading the terror of his arms, Ochus, king of Persia, alarmed by magnificent reports of the greatness and glory of the king of Macedon, and terrified with various rumours of his intentions to invade Asia, sent an embassy to Pella, to seek this prince's friendship, or rather to gain a just information of the real extent of his power. On this occasion, the young prince Alexander did the honours of the court in the absence of his father.

Just. l. 8.
cap. 6.

Plutarch. in
Vit. Alex.
de Fortuna
Alex. p.
342.

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Instead of entertaining the Persians with boyish and frivolous discourses of pleasures, gaiety, and amusement; instead of inquiring with a puerile curiosity into the riches of the Persian court, its plantanes of gold, its golden vine with clusters of emeralds and rubies; his conversations were solid and manly, and expressed that ardour for glory and greatness, which was afterwards inflamed to such a degree of extravagance. He was ever inquiring into the nature of the Persian government, polity, and art of war; the genius and character of the great king; the distance of his capital from the coast; the roads which led to it; and other like particulars; which plainly shewed, that a boundless ambition had already taken possession of his infant mind; and that even now he meditated those great designs which he afterwards so wonderfully executed. The ambassadors heard him with astonishment, and, in raptures, cried out, "Ours is an opulent king: this is the truly great prince."

Dind. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
69.

Olymp.
109. Y. 1.

From Illyria Philip returned into his own kingdom, laden with the spoils of his enemies; and, after some short interval of retirement, found it necessary to make an excursion into Thessaly. By the natural fickleness of the people, and the intrigues of the leading citizens, who either opposed or favoured the Macedonian interest,

interest, new commotions began to arise, and new pretences were afforded to Philip's creatures, to invite this prince to appear once more in Thessaly, and to maintain the tranquillity of this country. Endicus and Simo, two citizens of Larissa, his creatures and corrupted partisans, who possibly had fomented these disorders on purpose to oblige their master, were now the most earnest with him to march into Thessaly, and to support his authority. At their request, and for their support, he threw a body of soldiers into Larissa, to keep his enemies in awe, under the pretence of suppressing faction and sedition; while he was at the same time employed in settling a plan of government, in appearance intended to establish the peace of Thessaly, but, in reality, calculated to put it for ever out of the power of the people to give the least opposition to the designs of Macedon. He took to himself the charge of the public revenues, and directed the application of them: and then divided the whole country into four districts, in each of which he established a magistracy, composed of ten eminent Thessalians, who were absolutely devoted to him, and ready to conduct and direct all affairs, as he should find it convenient to prescribe [A]. The Thessalians

SECT. I.

Dem. de
Corona,
sect. 15.

Dem. Phil.
2. sect. 4.

Phil. 3.
sect. 6.

[A] THE government which now Philip established in Thessaly, is called a government of ten in the second Phi-

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Athen. l.

24. p. 624.

Ibid. l. 6.

p. 260.

p. 259.

Galen, de
sanit. tuend.
l. 3.

lians had ever appeared remarkably attached to their national customs, and were always flattered by any conformity and deference which foreigners might pay to these. Philip, the better to secure their adherence, was determined to indulge this their vanity, and affected to imitate their manners and customs, and to shew every instance of respect to Thessaly. He had already two Thessalian mistresses. As they were fond of the pleasures of society, he instituted public feasts, and honoured them with his own presence. All the nobles of his court were ordered to treat those of Thessaly with all possible politeness and deference, and he himself set the example. A Thessalian, called Agathocles, more noted for his jovial course of life, than for any military abilities, and who is said to have recommended himself, by flattering and diverting the king, was entrusted with the command of one of his armies, and conducted an expedition against the Perrhiboeans. The Thessalians had ever been preternders to wit, and sprightly sallies of fancy and pleasantry, though without the least share of true taste or delicacy. And

lippic of Demosthenes; and, in the third, a government of four. The manner in which I have here represented it, and which I have borrowed from Olivier, seems to clear up this difficulty, without obliging us to recur to the supposition of an error in the copies of Demosthenes.

this

this might possibly have determined Philip to bestow a small government, in Thessaly, on Thrasidaeus, a man whose genius recommended him to this particular disposition of the Thessalians; but whose merit, at the court of Macedon, is said to be no other than the peculiar art and address with which he flattered Philip.

Sect. I.

Athen. l. 6.

149.

BUT while he thus laboured, by indirect ways, to secure the affections of this country, the more forcible and effectual methods of establishing his power and authority were not omitted. He still continued to keep possession of Pherae, of Echinus, Pagasae, Magnesia, and Larissa, and purchased the town of Antron, whose citadel commanded the Euripus of Chalcis.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 7.
Phil. 4.
sect. 3.

NOR was he less attentive to enlarge his influence and power in other parts. The Megareans were a people, who, after various vicissitudes of fortune, sometimes subjected to Athens, sometimes to Lacedaemon, according to the different vicissitudes of power which these states experienced, now lived independent, and preserved a most inveterate hatred of both. These he determined, if possible, to gain over to his party, and began, according to his usual custom, to practise secretly with the leading members of the state. They had sent an ambassador to Macedon,

Oliv. l. 11.
p. 152.

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Dion. de fab.

Leg. 68.

83.

cedon, named Pteodorus, who returned highly flattered by the respect and affection with which he had been received, and absolutely devoted to Philip, as was the general case of those who were sent in such characters to the court of Macedonia. At his return to Megara, he found the people engaged in a judicial process against one Perilaüs, who was accused of being corrupted by Philip. Pteodorus, who was the most considerable member of the state by his birth, riches, and interest, undertook this man's defence, and prevailed on the senate of three hundred to acquit him. But, fearing some future attempts from those who opposed the Macedonian interest, he dispatched Perilaüs to Macedonia, in order to concert the means of promoting the designs and interests of Philip. A body of troops, secretly in this prince's pay, was sent to Megara, and admitted by the contrivance of Pteodorus, under pretence of defending the city, and of guarding it against all internal commotions. By means of these the partisans of Macedonia were enabled to command their fellow-citizens, and to remove those who attempted to give them any opposition. But whether it was that Philip feared that too open and avowed an attempt on the liberty of Megara might give umbrage to the neighbouring states, or that he thought himself sufficiently assured of the affections of this people,

people, these troops were soon withdrawn; which gives Demosthenes * occasion of representing his attempt on Megara as unsuccessful.

Sect. I.

* Phil. 4.

sect. 3.

Phil. 3.

sect. 4.

In Euboea his agents were as busily engaged in concerting every means to weaken the Athenian interest, and to reduce the island entirely to the power of Macedon. Philistides, whom Philip had placed at the head of affairs in Oreum, was implicitly obedient to the dictates of his master, and indefatigably industrious in favouring and assisting his designs. All his acts of government were calculated to establish the power of Philip, to discountenance all opposition, to intimidate and to oppress those who affected a zeal for the independency of the state, or who regarded the Athenian interest as most favourable to their liberty. Euphraeus, a citizen of eminence, who had for some time resided at Athens, and possibly had there contracted strong prejudices in favour of that state, set himself at the head of the opposite party, and was ever inspiring his countrymen with suspicions of Philistides and his adherents. As he had too much resolution to sink under the discouragements of a powerful opposition, or the weight of popular odium, with which the artifices of his antagonists contrived to load him, he, at length, proceeded to a formal impeachment of Philistides, and

Phil. 3.

sect. 14.

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and the other leaders of the Macedonian party, whom he accused of a traiterous design of subjecting their country to a foreign power. But Philip's agents were too politic, and too well supported, to be shaken by his ineffectual efforts: they were surrounded by a standing army, which was maintained by Philip for their support; they were assisted by the popular favour, which every artifice had been exerted to obtain. And, thus armed, they boldly retorted the accusation of treason on Euphræus; they called him incendiary, disturber of the public peace, and rebellious enemy to the just measures of government; and this brave and honest citizen, deserted by his friends, and insulted by the blinded populace, was seized and committed to prison: the partisans of Macedon were left at full liberty to pursue their schemes, and all their enemies terrified and confounded by this remarkable instance of their vigour and severity.

Dem. de
Pace, sect.
5.

BUT the most important object of Philip's present attention was the state of Peloponnesus, and the contests in that country. Athens had lately entered into a treaty of alliance with Lacedaemon, as the only means now left to guard against the increasing power of Macedon. The Thebans, on the other hand, insolent and arrogant in their present state of exaltation, and still cherishing

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cherishing an inveterate hatred and jealousy of their old rivals the Lacedaemonians, were now eager in pursuit of every means to mortify that people, and to reduce their power to the lowest ebb. The Argians, Messenians, and other Peloponnesians, readily listened to the suggestions of Thebes; were well inclined to renew their former contests with Sparta; and impatient to assert their ancient freedom and independence, Philip, now the great umpire in all the contests and disputes of Greece, was solicited, and willingly agreed to support the cause of these states; and, as the defender of the oppressed, wrote an haughty letter to Archidamus, in which he demanded that Lacedaemon should instantly renounce all claim of superiority and jurisdiction over those cities. He concluded his letter with a menace, inspired by a consciousness of his present power: "I shall find a way to oblige you to pay the due attention to this just demand, if once I enter into Peloponnesus." To which Archidamus, as yet undismayed, answered, with a brevity strictly laconic, by the repetition of the single particle IF [B].

Sect. I.

Phil. 2.
Tour. Som-
maire.

Plutarch. de
Garrulitate,
p. 512.

THE

[B] It had been the boast of Epaminondas, that he had compelled the Spartans to extend their monosyllables. And this people now seems to have particularly affected to convince the pupil of Epaminondas, that they still retained this mark of their ancient dignity. To a long and insulting letter,

Book IV.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 7.

THE people of Athens had too great acuteness and penetration not to see through Philip's real design in espousing the cause of the cities in Peloponnesus, and fomenting the disorders of this country: nor were his attempts in other parts of Greece less alarming, or less manifest indications of a restless and dangerous ambition. Whilst he threatened the Lacedaemonians with an invasion, he at the same time assumed the power of deciding the contests of some other less distinguished states. The Achaeans and Aetolians seem to have submitted a dispute concerning the city of Naupactus, to his determination: the first of these he declared against: promised by letter, they answered him by two words very capable of inspiring him with a lively sense of the strange vicissitudes of fortune to which greatness was subject: ΔΙΩΡΤΗΣΙΣ ΑΤ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ. To another letter, demanding admission into their territory, they answered by a single negative, expressed in the extremity of Spartan conciseness: not by the particle ΟΥ, according to Plutarch, (in loc. cit.) but by the letter Ο, which had at this time the force of the negative particle, as Ausonius relates:

*Una fuit tantum, qua respondere Lacones,
Litera, et irato regi placuisse negantes.*

EPIST. xiv. 36.

In like manner, the answer mentioned in the text seems to have been expressed only by the letter Ε: which was pronounced as the conditional Greek particle ΕΙ, as we learn from Athenaeus, l. xi. p. 230.—See the commentary on the Sandwich marble, by the learned and accurate Doctor Taylor.

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340.1.

to put the Ætolians in possession of the town; but, in the mean time, kept it in his own hands. Leucas, a city of Achaënia, and Ambracia in Epirus, both colonies of the Corinthians, and by their situation, of considerable importance, were the next to feel the terror of his arms: he first corrupted some of their citizens, and then attacked them openly. The people of Corinth, alarmed at the danger with which their settlements were threatened, and fired with indignation at the incessant attempts of Macedon to extend its conquests, began to prepare for war with a spirit ill suited to their own weakness and the superiority of their enemy. The city became a scene of general commotion; arms of all kinds were forged; their walls and fortifications repaired; and all provisions made for their own defence, and for repelling their enemy; while Diogenes, the Cynic philosopher, who then resided at Corinth, and looked with a just contempt on all this tumult, began, with a ridiculous affectation of hurry and engagement, to roll about his tub into different postures and situations, that (as he observed) he might not be the only person unemployed in a city so full of business.

Lucian. de
Conscrib.
Hist. p.
347. 348.

These attempts upon the Grecian cities, and particularly Philip's practices in Peloponnesus,

Book IV.

Dem. Phil.
2. sect. 3.Phil. 3.
sect. 15.Phil. 2.
sect. 4.

were displayed with all possible address and energy by the popular leaders at Athens, who opposed the Macedonian interest. By their representations the people were inspired with a violent fit of zeal and indignation, and an embassy was now sent into Peloponnesus, as the first great means to check the ambitious designs of Philip, in order, if possible, to detach the Argians and Messenians from their connexions with this subtle and designing prince. Demosthenes was at the head of this embassy; and we may judge of the spirit and eloquence which he exerted on this occasion, by the following extract from his speech to the Messenians, which is preserved in his second Philippic oration:

“Ye Messenians! how highly, think ye, would the Olynthians have been offended, if any man had spoken against Philip at that time, when he gave them up Anthemus, a city which the former kings of Macedon had ever claimed: when he drove out the Athenian colony, and gave them Potidaea: when he took all our resentment on himself, and left them to enjoy our dominions? Did they expect to have suffered thus? Had it been foretold, would they have believed it? You cannot think it! yet, after a short enjoyment of the territories of others, they have been

“ for

" for ever despoiled of their own, by this man.
 " Inglorious hath been their fall, not conquered
 " only, but betrayed and sold by one another.
 " For those intimate correspondences with ty-
 " rants ever portend mischief to free states.
 " Turn your eyes to the Thessalians! think ye,
 " that when he first expelled their tyrants, when
 " he then gave them up Nicaea and Magnesia,
 " that they expected ever to have been sub-
 " jected to those governors now imposed on
 " them? Or that the man, who restored them
 " to their seat in the Amphictyonic council,
 " would have deprived them of their own pro-
 " per revenues? Yet, that such was the event,
 " the world can testify. In like manner you
 " now behold Philip lavishing his gifts and pro-
 " mises upon you. If you are wise, you will
 " pray that he may never appear to have de-
 " ceived and abused you. Various are the con-
 " trivances for the defence and security of cities:
 " as battlements, and walls, and trenches, and
 " every other kind of fortification: all which
 " are the effects of labour, and attended with
 " continual expence. But there is one common
 " bulwark, with which men of prudence are
 " naturally provided, the guard and security of
 " all people, particularly of free states, against
 " the assaults of tyrants. What is this? Dis-
 " trust. Of this be mindful: to this adhere:

Book IV. “preserve this carefully, and no calamity can
 “affect you. What is it you seek? Liberty?
 “and do ye not perceive that nothing can be
 “more averse to this than the very titles of
 “Philip? Every monarch, every tyrant, is an
 “enemy to liberty, and the opposer of laws.
 “Will ye not then be careful, lest, while ye seek
 “to be freed from war, ye find yourselves his
 “slaves.”

* Phil. 3.
 sect. 15.
 Phil. 2.
 sect. 3.

THESE negotiations of the Athenians for some time suspended the designs of Philip, if we may believe * Demosthenes, saved Ambracia, and prevented his marching directly into Peloponnesus. It appears, however, that he found means of sending in some forces for the support of the Argians and Messenians, who received them as their guardians and deliverers; as the prospect of entirely shaking off the severe yoke of Sparta, the flattering assurances of Philip, and the zealous solicitations of Thebes, had much more weight with these people than the imaginary dangers which Demosthenes, and the other ambassadors Hegesippus, Lycurgus, and the rest, all eminent popular leaders, now presented to their view. Thus was Peloponnesus threatened with a bloody war; and each party laboured vigorously to strengthen their interest, and to support their cause. The Lacedaemo-

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nians instantly dispatched their deputies to Athens, to represent their danger, and to desire assistance: and they were heard, with all possible deference and favour, by a people who could not look on with indifference, while the jealousies and animosities of the Greeks, and the ambition and artifice of Philip, were exciting such commotions, as it were, on the very borders of their state. Yet, on the other hand, Philip was too formidable for them to enter into any rash measures. The peace lately concluded must give any opposition to his arms the appearance of perfidy, however necessary for their safety: all the reasons which could possibly be urged to deter them from any engagements with Lacedaemon, were represented in their full force by the ambassadors of Macedon, Thebes, Argos, and Messenè, who also now appeared in the assembly: Philip's ministers called on them to adhere strictly to their treaty; expatiated on the integrity and candour of their master; obviated all the objections of deceit and breach of promise on his part; and appealed to the terms of the treaty, to which his conduct had been strictly conformable. If he had continued to adhere to the interest of Thebes, no assurances made, no engagements entered into by him, forbade such attachment. If the Athenians had entertained unwarrantable expectations, their disappoint-

SECT. I.

Tourr.
Sommaire
Phil. 2.

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ment was only to be attributed to themselves, or to those ministers who have deceived them, and abused the king of Macedon by their misrepresentations.

Tourr.
Sommaire
Phil. 2.

THE ambassadors of Thebes, Argos, and Messenè, inveighed loudly against the Athenians on account of the favour and support which they had already granted to Lacedaemon, under whose tyranny all their neighbours groaned, who had long proved the scourge of Greece, and who, notwithstanding the repeated and successful efforts to reduce their power, were still insolent and arrogant, and impatient to make Greece feel the full severity of their rigorous and arbitrary sway. The Athenians, who called themselves the patrons and protectors of liberty, surely could not, consistently with their principles, oppose a reasonable attempt to restore their natural and original rights and liberties to a people oppressed and harassed by a power supported but by violence, and authorized by no right but that of superiour force.

Ibid.

THE ambassadors of Lacedaemon, on the other hand, aided by those public leaders, who hated the ambition, and dreaded the vigour and policy, of Philip, endeavoured to lay open to the people all the artifices of this intriguing prince;

prince; the instances in which he had already deceived those with whom he held the least intercourse; and the dangers to be still dreaded from a king, who made dissimulation, perfidy, and corruption, the instruments of his greatness; whose ambition was insatiable, and his vigour indefatigable. A regard to justice, and a tender concern for the happiness and independence of others, have ever been his pretences, but the vanity of such pretences never were more apparent than in the present case. If it be just and reasonable that every single city should enjoy an absolute freedom and independence, why are the cities of Boeotia given up entirely by Philip into the power of Thebes? If Thebes may justly claim the absolute sovereignty of Boeotia, must not the pretensions of Lacedaemon be tried by the same rule of justice; and may not she, with equal reason, assert her pretensions to the sovereignty of Peloponnesus. But, in truth, the revenge and jealousy of Thebes, as well as Philip's grand design of subjecting all Greece to the power of Macedon, demands the immediate ruin of Lacedaemon: that of Athens must necessarily ensue: and nothing but a vigorous resolution, on the part of this state, can possibly avert that desolation with which Greece is now threatened by the

Phil. 2.
sect. 3.
Tourr. Not.
in Loc.

BOOK IV.

insatiable and malignant passions both of her secret and avowed enemies.

THERE was now a noble field for the abilities of Demosthenes; and these appear to have been eminently exerted in that oration which is commonly called the second Philippic. In this address, the artifices and designs of Philip are fully displayed; every motive to caution, vigilance, and resolution, urged with due force; the glory and dignity of Athens represented with particular art and delicacy; and the corruption and perfidy of those, who had been intrusted with the conduct of the late public transactions, attacked with such warmth, as could scarcely fail to inspire his hearers with the most violent indignation and resentment. It is not possible to make any extract from this admirable piece: to give a just idea of it, it would be necessary to insert it entire: nor is it without reason that * Olivier supposes, that it was to this oration particularly Philip gave that honourable testimony mentioned in a life of Demosthenes, compiled by Plutarch: "Had I been present
 " to hear these spirited remonstrances, I myself
 " must have given my voice for declaring war
 " against the king of Macedon."

* L. II. p.
 355.

Plut. Vit.
 30. Orat. in
 Demosth.

NOR

Not were the Athenians insensible to the force and energy of their public leader. Demosthenes was appointed to answer the ambassadors. It was determined to support the cause of Peloponnesus; and those who managed the late treaty were exposed to all the resentment of an enraged and disappointed people. A judicial process was commenced against Philocrates, and managed with considerable zeal by Hyperides, the celebrated orator, who violently opposed the Macedonian party. Demosthenes, on this occasion, warmly contended, that all the other ambassadors had been equally guilty, and should be involved in this prosecution. But the people seemed contented with making one victim to public justice: and Philocrates, who justly dreaded the event of a trial, found it the safest and best expedient to withdraw from Athens. As Philip's partisans were now apparently in the decline of their power, their enemies determined to pursue their victory. A formal accusation was also brought against Æschines by one Timarchus, a citizen of eminence, who had frequently been heard with attention in the assembly. He had proposed many decrees, and particularly that which made it capital to supply Philip with arms or military stores. But Æschines prevented him on this occasion, and proved that Timarchus was unworthy to propose

Socr. l.

Dem. de fal. Les. sect. 38.

Æschin. in Ctes. sect. 30.

Arg. in Æschin. Orat. in Timarch.

Book IV.

any thing to the people, as he had justly merited infamy by his abandoned and dissolute life: he was accordingly declared unworthy of interfering in any matter of public concernment. Thus did Æschines, for this time, evade the general resentment, with a sort of triumph over his enemies; while, at the same time, he avoided all explanations of his conduct.

WHILE the Athenians were thus employed in accusing, trying, and condemning or acquitting those who had been intrusted with their affairs, the usual consequence of weak and misguided politics in a corrupted and disordered state, Philip pursued the schemes of his ambition with his accustomed vigour. He directed his course towards Laconia, in order, as he pretended, to support the liberty of the people of Peloponnesus; and, without any interruption from the Athenians, or from Sparta, which was immediately threatened by his arms, landed his forces at the cape of Tenarus. The Peloponnesians crowded to his standard with the warmest zeal and acknowledgment of his friendship; and thus he found himself at the head of a numerous army, which threatened destruction to all those who should presume to oppose him. With these formidable powers he marched forward,

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ward, and began with forming the siege of Trinasus.

SECT. I.

THIS place was by its situation strong, and well provided for an obstinate and vigorous resistance. It was of the utmost moment to make himself master of it, before the Lacedaemonians could have time to collect their forces and march to its relief: and for this purpose he had now recourse to a stratagem. In the night he caused a large quantity of earth to be laid at a small distance from the walls: and, having engaged the besieged in an interview, he shewed them the heap, and asked whether they could now think of resistance any longer. His artifice succeeded: the inhabitants, imagining that their town was now undermined, immediately resolved on a capitulation.

Frontin. l.
3. c. 8. 2.

THE first accounts of Philip's invasion had raised a considerable commotion in Lacedaemon; and the taking of Trinasus added greatly to the general consternation which now spread through that state, and all its allied powers. An extraordinary meteor appeared in the air; and, for several days, the heavens assumed an horrid dusky redness. This accident was received by the people, at this critical time, as an ominous warning of that destruction which seemed impending. A young Spartan, who appeared

Plin. Hist.
Nat. l. 2.
c. 36.

Book IV.

Frontin. l.
4. c. 5. 12.

peared unmoved amidst the general terror, was asked, with surprise, whether he did not really fear Philip? "Why should I fear him," cried the gallant youth, "he cannot hinder us from dying for our country."

WHILE most of the adjacent states and cities of Peloponnesus declared for Philip, the Lacedaemonians found themselves abandoned by their allies, and utterly unable to support the quarrel by the force of arms. They were therefore obliged to make Philip himself the arbiter of their dispute; and Agis, the son of king Archidamus, was sent as an ambassador to conclude a treaty with the king of Macedon, on such terms as he should prescribe. The Spartan prince, agreeably to the simplicity of his country, appeared, on this occasion, totally unattended; and when Philip thus expressed his surprise, "What! have the Spartans sent but one?" "Am not I to meet one?" said Agis, with a true Laconic pride. The king of Macedon seems to have been mortified with the boldness of this answer, and to have forgot his usual politeness in this interview. "I shall take care," said he, with a good degree of heat, "to prevent the Spartans from setting foot in any part of Greece." "It is well!" returned Agis. "We have a country of our own, and can live there."

Plutarch.
Apophth.
Lac.

Ibid.

AFTER

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SECT. I.

AFTER some altercation and remonstrances, these princes proceeded to settle the boundaries between Lacedaemon and Argos, in which all matters were adjusted in the manner most favourable to this latter state. Messenè was declared a free state. The inhabitants were established in their old habitations, and confirmed in all the privileges they had enjoyed, and all the lands they had possessed when they were conquered by Lacedaemon, three hundred and thirty-five years before. Antiochus, one of the ephori who signed this treaty, could not contain himself from observing, "that Philip had indeed given these lands to the Messenians, but had not, at the same time, given the means of defending them." But, to this end, Philip, having formed a confederacy with the states that had attended him, obliged them to give him securities for the execution of all the terms of their treaty; and, on his part, engaged to afford them the necessary assistance on all occasions. And, the more effectually to secure the continuance of those dispositions which he had now made, he took care to place, at the head of all the allied cities, a number of men entirely devoted to his interest [c]. Thus reducing them,

Strabo l. 8.
p. 361.

Ibid.

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
91.

[c] THE names of many of these Demosthenes hath preserved, in his oration on the Crown; and branded them as the

Book IV.

them, in reality, to an absolute dependence on Macedon, at the same time that he affected a most disinterested regard to their liberties. These were the artifices and pretences which the leading powers of Greece had employed to establish their own interest, and to depress their neighbours and rivals: these first divided, weakened, and corrupted the Greeks: and now their own unreasonable ambition encouraged, enabled, and taught their common enemy the means to gain an influence in Greece, and to establish his power on their general ruin.

[D] PHILIP now returned, and passed through Arcadia, in order to detach some cities that had not

the betrayers of their countries, and the pests of Greece. Polybius indeed (in Excerpt.) endeavours to rescue the memory of these men from infamy, possibly from regard to Megalopolis, his native city. This historian insists, that, in their attachment to Philip, they were influenced only by a true regard to the freedom of their states, and a just aversion to the tyranny of Sparta. But it was a thing well known in Greece, and which was transmitted down even to the time of Pausanias; that when Philip made his attempts on the liberties of Greece, Sparta was the only state which proved inaccessible to his gold, and incapable of corruption.

PAUSAN. in Achaicis.

[D] THIS invasion of Peloponnesus, together with the particulars which have been here related, the French writer places

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not yet declared themselves from the interest of Lacedaemon. He was so far successful, that he, for a time, engaged them to his party. And many of those cities erected statues, and decreed crowns of gold, to their deliverer. In the days of Pausanias, they pointed out a piece of ground in Arcadia, adjoining to a fountain, which was called Philip's camp, and which, possibly, had been applied to that purpose at this time.

Secret.

Pausan. in
Arcad.

FROM Arcadia he proceeded to Corinth, and lodged at the house of Demaratus, a man devoted to his service, and who owed to Philip his influence in that city. Public games and spectacles were, at this time, celebrated at Corinth, where numbers of the Peloponnesians were collected. At these games Philip appeared; and the people, who found themselves now governed by his creatures, and, by this time, had many just reasons to suspect the sincerity of his intentions, received him with loud

Plotarch. in
Apophth.

places much earlier, in the one hundred and seventh Olympiad. But I could not think it safe to follow his authority, as the reader, who will take the trouble of turning to Demosthenes, de falsa Leg. sect. 29. and Phil. 2. sect. 7, will find it expressly asserted, that Philip never did nor could enter Peloponnesus, until he became master of Thermopylae.

expressions

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Plotarch. in
Apophth.

Ibid.

expressions of disgust. His courtiers, earnest in their zeal for the honour of their master, pressed him to punish those insolent men who made such ungrateful returns to his good offices. But Philip well knew when to dissimble and pass over such affronts unnoticed. "By no means," said he, "if they are so insolent now, how would they behave, should we do them any ill offices?" Thus we find that this prince, according to the expression of Theopompus, which Longinus hath preserved, could, with ease, swallow injuries and affronts. His policy supplied the place of true meekness; or, which is the same, true greatness of mind. He heard, with an affected unconcern, of those opprobrious invectives which were sometimes dealt to him in the Athenian assembly. "I am much indebted," said he, "to those orators who make me acquainted with my faults." Instead of punishing his revilers, when they were absolutely in his power, he wisely chose to gain them by good offices. "Hath Nicanor spoken evil of me?" said he: "perhaps he hath reason. I have neglected his merit: let him have some mark of my friendship." This had the due effect: the Macedonian changed his language; and the king observed to those who recommended severities, "You see it is in our own power to be well or ill spoken of."

At

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AT his return to Macedon, the education of his young son Alexander became the immediate object of his regard. The prince had, from his infancy, discovered a remarkable nobleness and greatness of sentiment, and a genius susceptible of the highest improvements and accomplishments. He was the apparent heir to the kingdom, the power, and the fame of his illustrious father. The philosopher Aristotle was therefore invited to the court of Macedon, and to him was committed the important charge of superintending the education of this prince, "that he may be taught," said Philip, "to avoid those errors which I have committed, and of which I now repent." To engage him more effectually in a faithful and diligent discharge of this great trust, Philip loaded Aristotle with favours worthy the generosity of the king, and the merit of the philosopher. He caused Stagira, the city which gave birth to Aristotle, and which had shared the common fate of the Olynthian territories, to be rebuilt, and the inhabitants, who were now slaves or fugitives, to be restored to their original settlements and privileges: and there set apart a spacious park, laid out into shady walks, and ornamented with statues and seats of marble, for the use of the Peripatetic sages, who were there at full liberty to pursue those exercises which gave the title

SECT. I.

Plut. in Vit.
Alex.

Plut. in
Apophth.

Plut. in Vit.
Alex.

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Oliv. i. 11.
p. 160.

Plot. in
Alex.

Ibid.

title to their sect. History has thought it worthy to transmit to us an account of all the persons concerned in the nurture and education of this prince. Hellanica, the nurse of Alexander, hath not been forgotten, the sister of Clitus, a woman to whom the grateful prince shewed the utmost attention in the midst of all his conquests. A governor, named Leonidas, had ever attended him; a man naturally austere, but virtuous and brave; rigidly scrupulous, and careful of the most minute particulars relating to his charge. Nothing superfluous, nothing that administered to vanity or luxury, was ever suffered to approach the prince's apartment by this exact inspector. In some religious rite, Alexander was observed by Leonidas to make use of more incense than seemed necessary on the occasion, and told, with some severity, "that it would be time enough to be thus lavish of perfumes, when he was master of the country that produced them:" which occasioned the prince, when he had afterwards conquered Arabia, to send Leonidas a large quantity of these perfumes, "to engage him," (as he said) "to make his offerings to the gods with a more liberal hand." He had another governor, Lyfimachus of Acharnania, who seems to have been recommended by his age and attachment to his pupil. He called Alexander

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under Achilles, Philip Pteleus, and himself Phoenix. This flattering application recommended and endeared him to the king of Macedonia, who had that paternal tenderness which made him feel a sensible delight in all prefiges that seemed to promise that his son should surpass him in the glory of his actions. Aristotle, on his part, laboured to improve and adorn the mind of Alexander with every kind of knowledge suitable to a prince. That logic, for which his sect was famous, was neither wholly neglected, nor minutely inculcated. What the philosopher more insisted on, was to give the prince a perfect knowledge of the human mind; to explain all the objects which affect it, and the motives by which it is determined. The three books of Rhetoric, which he afterwards dedicated to Alexander, were an abridgment of those lectures on Eloquence, which he had given to the prince, to complete him in that branch of knowledge, of which he had already received the rudiments from Anaximenes of Lampascus. Thus the first care of his teachers, was to form this prince to speak with grace, propriety, and force. Nor is it probable, that they had less attention to teach him an equal propriety of action and conduct in the elevated station in which he was at some time to appear. But those studies, which might inspire him with

Sec. 1.

Isocrat. Lib. 1. ad Alex.

Oliv. l. 11. p. 162.

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O

great

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great and exalted ideas of glory and heroism, seem to have been the particular delight of Alexander, if we may judge from that remarkable veneration which he ever expressed for the works of Homer.

Oliv. l. 11.
p. 162.

Plet. in
Alex.

Plut. in
Alex.

Plut. in
Alex.

Oliv. l. 11.
p. 163.

As Aristotle was the son of a physician, doubtless, a natural partiality in favour of the art determined him, saith Olivier, to give his pupil an extensive knowledge in medicine. If it be allowed to indulge conjecture, he might be supposed to have taken the hint from Lyfimaachus, and to have flattered his pupil, by imitating the education of Achilles, and appearing in a character similar to that of Chiron. But the deference due to the judgment of Milton, who, in his tractate on Education, recommends this branch of knowledge as of great use to military men, should induce us to conclude, that the philosopher was directed by the just rules of reason and good sense, in teaching his pupil the means of preserving the health of those numbers, who might hereafter march under his guidance and command. The prince seems to have received these his instructions with pleasure: he afterwards wrote several directions and receipts for the use of his sick friends; and, possibly, the opinion of his own skill determined him to cause the physicians of Hephaestion to

be

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be hanged, who might not have treated his favourite according to those rules in which he had been instructed. We may presume, that mathematics were not neglected by Aristotle, though we learn from * Seneca, that Alexander studied geometry without any great success. But another branch of literature, which the philosopher seems to have inculcated with particular attention, was the knowledge of being, considered in itself, and of intelligent substances. And how greatly his pupil valued himself on this knowledge, may appear from the following letter, occasioned by Aristotle's publishing a treatise of these metaphysical disquisitions:

Sect. I.

* Epist. 91.

Plut. in
Alex.

"ALEXANDER, to Aristotle, health!

Ibid.

"You have by no means acted rightly in publishing those treatises of knowledge, to be communicated only to particular hearers. How shall I excel others, if those things, which I have been taught, be now divulged to the world? I am ever better pleased to appear superiour to the rest of mankind, in the knowledge of excellent things, than in power. Farewel!"

THE answer of the philosopher, on this occasion, is well known, "that these disquisitions

Ibid.

O 2 "were

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Oliv. l. 11.
p. 164.

“ were published, and not published; being written in such a manner as to be still totally inaccessible to the vulgar.” And, if we may judge by those metaphysical works, which have been transmitted to us as the works of Aristotle, the prince’s complaint was ill-founded, and the philosopher’s answer extremely just.

THE greatness of mind which now began to dawn in this young hero, the attention and assiduity with which he received all instruction and improvement, and his general loveliness of manners, the effect of a natural good disposition, aided and enlivened by an exact and well conducted education, now began to be a subject of praise and admiration in all the polished and refined states. The venerable Isocrates, who prided himself in that regard with which he was ever honoured by Philip, received such accounts with the joy natural to a man of his years and disposition; and, about this time, wrote a letter to Alexander, conceived in the following terms:

“ ISOCRATES, to Alexander, health!”

“ As I have addressed a letter to your father, and as you are resident in the same place, I should have condemned myself of the utmost impropriety, had I neglected thus to express myself to you, and, by this means, to con-

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SECT. I.

“vince those who are unacquainted with me,
 “that my age hath not yet reduced me to a
 “state of perfect dotage; but that the remains
 “of genius, which I still possess, are not unwor-
 “thy of those powers, with which my former
 “years were favoured. I am assured, from the
 “concurring testimony of all men, of that affec-
 “tion which you have ever expressed to man-
 “kind, of your particular regard to Athens, of
 “your love to learning, and of that prudence
 “and justness of sentiment which appear in all
 “your conduct. I have a strong proof of this
 “in the accounts which I receive of your deli-
 “cacy in the choice of those Athenians who are
 “admitted to your confidence. Who are not
 “of the number of those who blindly abandon
 “themselves to wicked pursuits: but men,
 “whose conversation cannot offend, and whose
 “society can neither prove injurious to you, nor
 “prompt you to act injuriously to others: men
 “with whom the wise must ever chuse to asso-
 “ciate. It is said, that, among the various
 “branches of learning, you do not entirely re-
 “ject that which is conversant about disputa-
 “tion. This you esteem as advantageous in
 “private life, but not so well fitted to those who
 “are to govern societies; and born to kingly
 “power: as it is neither convenient nor decent
 “for men of elevated minds to engage in con-

BOOK IV.

“troverſy with their ſubjects, or to ſuffer them,
 “in the violence of diſpute, to forget the difference
 “of their ſtations. This kind of learning, there-
 “fore, you do not paſſionately admire, but have
 “rather choſen to devote your chief attention to
 “the ſtudy of eloquence. A ſtudy, whoſe high
 “importance we experience daily in all our pub-
 “lic tranſactions, and which enables us to deli-
 “berate on all affairs of ſtate : by which you
 “too have diſcovered no inconfiderable ſhare of
 “wiſdom, in directing and preſcribing to your
 “ſubjects, in judging of what is truly noble
 “and equitable, and what is contrary to theſe,
 “and in diſpenſing puniſhments and rewards,
 “according to thoſe unerring rules derived from
 “this important knowledge. Theſe ſtudies
 “prove your true diſcernment, and give the
 “moſt favourable aſſurance both to your father,
 “and to others, that, by a due perfeverance in
 “ſuch laudable purſuits, at a maturer time of
 “life, you will arrive at the ſame diſtinguiſhed
 “eminence in true wiſdom, which your father
 “confeſſedly enjoys at preſent.”

ABOUT this time Philip was obliged to quit his
 kingdom and march into Thrace, where the ſtrug-
 gles between the Athenian and Macedonian in-
 tereſt had raiſed new commotions. Cerſobleptes,
 as hath been already obſerved, was obliged to
 divest

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divest himself of the sovereignty, and to give up his son to Philip as an hostage. And there is reason to conclude, that he himself was forced to commit himself into the hands of Philip, and to submit implicitly to his disposal: yet * Diodorus makes him appear in † this year at the head of an army, prepared to defend himself against the Macedonian: from whence we are to conclude, that he found the means of resuming his dominions. Possibly Diodorus may have been mistaken in the precise time in which Cersobleptes was made a prisoner; but, however this may be, it is yet certain that Philip made a campaign in Thrace in the eighteenth year of his reign. His arrival spread a general terroure through the country. As the inhabitants did not dare to wait his approach in a body, they separated their forces, which obliged him, on his part, to dispose his troops in such a manner, as that they might act in several places, so that he gained various advantages at the same time.

Sect. I.

*Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
71.
†Olymp.
109. Y. 3.

DEUDRAS and Machetas, two brothers, who had succeeded as joint heirs to the sovereignty of their father, at first united their forces, and determined to oppose the king of Macedon. But this union did not last for any considerable time: they soon began to quarrel among themselves, and were at length obliged to submit their con-

Paul. Oros.
Val. Max.

Book IV.

Athen. l.

23. P. 557.

Plut. A-
popht.

tests to Philip, and to constitute him their umpire; who soon decided their quarrel, by reducing them both equally to a state of dependence on his pleasure; and is said to have taken their sister into the number of his concubines.

MACHETAS afterwards followed him to the court of Macedon. And here he was the occasion of displaying Philip's greatness of mind, in submitting to just censure, and generously acknowledging and correcting his own errors. Machetas had a judicial controversy which Philip heard at a time when he had indulged too far in jollity and revelling. His judgment being blinded and weakened by excess, his decision was manifestly capricious and unjust. Machetas, with that vexation which the consciousness of the integrity of his cause, thus despised and injured, must naturally have raised, boldly urged his wrongs: "I appeal," said he. "What!" replied Philip, "from your king: where is that power to whom you can appeal?" "I appeal," returned Machetas, "from Philip flustered with wine, to Philip cool and temperate." The boldness of this remonstrance set the king's levity and injustice all full in his view; he reheard the cause the next day, and, although he would not reverse his former sentence, he made Machetas full amends for the injury he had received by his precipitation.

FROM

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FROM reducing these two princes, Philip proceeded to invade the dominions of Cithelas, another petty sovereign of Thrace. But, as this prince was too inconsiderable to give him any effectual opposition, a peace was soon concluded; and the sister of Cithelas, a woman of remarkable beauty, given up to Philip, in order to preserve a shadow of sovereignty to her brother. To secure the attachment of all those districts, which he thus subdued, Philip chose the most advantageous situations, where he erected forts; and these he garrisoned with Macedonians. The people were obliged to pay him a tribute, which amounted to a tenth part of their revenue, while his soldiers awed, oppressed, and harassed them [E].

SECT. I.

Athenian, l.

23. P. 557.

Diod. Sic.

l. 16. sect.

71.

FROM

[E] SOME few of Philip's actions in Thrace, of less moment, are mentioned in Frontinus, Polyænus, and some other writers, which the author chuses to pass over in silence, as he finds it impossible to connect them with the history, or to ascertain their dates.—Among these is the conquest of Abdera, which the French writer fixes to this period.—At one time when Philip had sailed on an expedition to this city and its neighbourhood, he found occasion for his artifice, in order to avoid an engagement with Chares, the Athenian admiral. This commander was stationed with twenty ships in the Strymonic bay, near the city of Neapolis, ready to attack the Macedonian fleet at its return. Philip chose out four of his best sailing vessels, which he ordered to cruise in view of the Athenians. Chares was tempted out

Book IV,

Orat. de
Halonese.

FROM Thrace Philip passed into the Chersonesus, whither he was invited by the people of Cardia, who, when the rest of that peninsula was given up to Athens, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of that state; and, encouraged by the assurances of assistance which they received from Macedon, asserted their independency, and either fought, or were necessarily involved in, various contests about their boundaries [F] with the Athenian colony which was now settled in Chersonesus.

Plot. in Vita
Eumenis.

PHILIP appeared, and declared his intentions of assisting his allies the Cardians, and supporting them in their just pretensions. In this city he resided for a while, and, at some times, was a spectator of those public exercises in which the

to pursue these with all his force: and, while he suffered himself to be engaged in a fruitless chase, the Macedonians passed by unmolested. POLYÆN. l. 4. c. 2. str. 22.

[F] THESE boundaries were said to be distinctly marked out by an altar sacred to Jupiter, whose situation is described in the oration on the Halonese: and here Philip (among other flattering assurances which he lavished on the Greeks, while the late treaty was depending) promised to cut through the isthmus, at his own expence, for the convenience and security of commerce, which was frequently interrupted by the length of time required in doubling mount Athos, and sailing round the Chersonesus, or by contrary winds.

DEM. Phil. 2. sect. 6.

youth

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youth of Cardia were engaged. On one of these occasions, he is said to have taken particular notice of one young man, who distinguished himself among his fellows by his agility and strength of body. When the games were concluded, he engaged in discourse with him, and soon found that he was endowed with qualities infinitely superiour to those which he had just displayed. He learned, with joy, that this extraordinary youth was the son of a man to whom he had been intimately and affectionately attached; he immediately invited him to his court, and placed him about the young prince Alexander, whom he afterwards served in the quality of a secretary.

Sect. I.

THIS was that Eumenes, one of the successors of Alexander, whose genius and abilities were confessedly superiour to all the others. Penetration and acuteness, elevation of thought and rectitude of intention, firmness, eloquence, and affability, were all united in Eumenes. He was distinguished from all the other chiefs, by his attachment to his master's family, and by a disinterestedness which was beyond example. But he fell by the treachery of his own soldiers, who basely delivered up their general in chains into the hands of his mortal enemy; so totally had luxury and wanton prosperity debauched their minds, and obliterated all sense of duty.

Plut. in
Eumen.

WHILE

BOOK IV.

Olymp.
109. Y. 3.
Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect.
78.

Justin, l. 8.
a. 6.

* L. 16.
sect. 72.

WHILE Philip was thus engaged in the affairs of Thrace, he received an account of the death of Arymbas, king of Epirus, and uncle to Olympias. This prince left a son named Neacides, who was father to Pyrrhus. But Philip exerted his influence and power in favour of his brother-in-law, and engaged the nobility of Epirus to place Alexander, the son of Neoptolemus, on the throne, and to acknowledge him as rightful successor. If Neoptolemus and Arymbas had been in joint possession of the throne, a form of government which Aristotle, in his Politics, mentions to have been established at Epirus, then Alexander had a right to his share of the sovereignty, and Philip must have been guilty of a very inequitable partiality in extending his power to the prejudice of the other family. But it is unaccountable why the abbreviator of Tregus should so far distort the history of these transactions, as to suppose that Philip, after having acknowledged Arymbas as sovereign of Epirus, proceeded afterwards to dethrone him, and to substitute the brother of Olympias in his room: for Arymbas certainly died in peaceable possession of the kingdom, after a reign of ten years, as * Diodorus expressly asserts.

THIS injustice of that author may induce us to suspect the truth of what he has advanced of the connexions

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connexions between Philip and his brother-in-law. This Alexander was then but twenty years old. He had learned, at the court of Philip, all that could form a great king and an able general; and Philip, who seems to have had a sincere friendship for him, added to the crown of Epirus a present of four cities, which are mentioned in the oration intitled, *On the Malanefus*, and said to be Elean colonies, which possibly Philip might have given away with the consent of Elis, where his power and influence were in effect absolute. The conduct of this prince seems to have done no dishonour to Philip's friendship. In the beginning of his reign, he found himself obliged to maintain a war against the Illyrians, whom he subdued by a stratagem, which seems to have been copied from the artful and subtle king of Macedon. The Illyrians expected a reinforcement, of whose number Alexander was informed. He armed an equal body of Epirotes, after the Illyrian manner; and, to prevent all suspicion of deceit, ordered them to ravage and lay waste his own territories. The Illyrians, deceived by this appearance, marched in full confidence to join these pretended succours; and, in an instant, were surpris'd, attacked, and cut to pieces.

Sicov. I.

Frontin. l.
2. c. 5.
strat. 10.

THIS prince died afterwards in Italy, where he met with more resistance than his nephew found

BOOK IV. found in Persia. He conquered the Brutii, the Lucani, and even the Samnites (whose valour had so often exercised the Romans) and afterwards made a peace with the Romans; *incertum qua fide culturus*, saith the historian * Livy, *si caetera processissent.*

*L. 3. c. 17.

Dem. de
Chers. sect.
9.

Epist. Phil.

BUT to return to Philip; his Thracian conquests inflamed the jealousy of the Athenians; and the disputes in the Chersonesus afforded them a pretence for venting their dissatisfaction. Ever ready to oppose the interests of Philip, when this might be effected by negociation, and now favoured by the opportunity of his absence, they dispatched ambassadors to the Grecian states, to endeavour to inspire those who united with Philip and accepted of his protection, and those who still wavered, with suspicions of this prince's sincerity, and apprehensions of his enterprising and boundless ambition. All their old complaints, and all the late causes of dissatisfaction, were, on this occasion, urged with the utmost force and vehemence. His injustice in wresting Potidaea from the Athenians; his insincere and even treacherous conduct in relation to Amphipolis; the instances of his deceit in all the transactions relative to the late treaty; his keeping possession of Halonesus, (an island, which one Sostratus, a pirate, had some time since taken from them, and

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SECT. II

and which Philip, having driven out this pirate, now claimed as his property) in defiance of the just pretensions and acknowledged right of Athens; the hardships and oppression under which the Athenian colony in the Chersonesus now laboured, and his partial support of the Cardians in their unjust demands; the fate of those people whom he had subverted and destroyed, were recalled to view; all his insidious favours and promises; all the various artifices by which he had at first gained the confidence of these people to their own undoing; in a word, every representation that could possibly raise distrust and indignation, was now made to the Grecians with all the force and address of the most eminent orators and statesmen of Athens. Every state was separately exhorted to unite against a prince, who was really their common enemy, whatever appearances he assumed, or whatever sentiments he expressed. The Athenians, on their part, (the ministers declared) were ready to unite with their brethren and friends, and to exert that zeal against the aspiring Macedonian, which they had ever discovered for the defence of liberty, and the glorious cause of Greece.

THESE practices of the Athenians could not possibly be regarded by Philip with indifference. His successes had gradually elevated his views, and

Book IV. and the great design which he had now formed, of marching into Asia at the head of all the Greeks, plainly required that he should, if possible, calm all jealousies and suspicions in the Athenians; or, at least, prevent them from alienating the affections of the other states, and detaching them from their connexions with Macedonia.

Orat. de
Halonese.

Athen. l.
24. p. 550.
Dem. de
Coron. sect.
43.

For this purpose, he had, some time since, when complaints arose of his infractions of the treaty, dispatched Python the Byzantine to Athens, to calm the jealousies of that state, and to obviate all objections to the sincerity and integrity of his conduct. This emissary was well fitted to influence popular assemblies. His manner of address was suited to his corpulence and bulk; loud, bold, and forcible, with that passionate vehemence which seems to arise from conviction and sincerity, though it be frequently but the effect of an heated imagination, or a particular violence of temper and constitution; and sometimes no more than artifice and disguise. Whatever impressions his remonstrances might have made, Philip now found it expedient to address a letter to the Athenians, in which he repeated all the apologies that his conduct admitted of, and endeavoured to possess the Athenians in particular, and the Greeks in general,

to

to whom his letter could not be long a secret, with a favourable opinion of the candour and integrity of his intentions. This letter, among other pieces of the same kind, which might have done honour to the abilities of the king of Macedon, is unhappily lost to posterity: but the principal articles of it are preserved in that oration which we find among the remains of Demosthenes, intitled, *on the Halonesus*, and which is generally supposed to be the work of the orator Hegesippus.

He began with mentioning their complaints with relation to the island of Halonesus; which (as he alleged) he fairly won from the pirates who had settled there, and which he was ready to give up freely to the Athenians; and to submit all other contests about the islands to a fair and equitable arbitration. The second article relates to some disputes between the merchants of each country, of which we have but obscure hints. In the next place, he called on the Athenians to concur with him in suppressing piracy, and clearing the seas from all obstructions to commerce. In the late treaty, he observed, there was an article inserted, which the Athenian ministers had not mentioned to the people, that each party should keep what they were then in possession of: and that, by virtue of this article,

BOOK IV. the Athenians had no further claim to Amphipolis. Another clause he observed had been added to the treaty, that the Grecian states, which were not comprised in it, should continue free and unmolested; and, in case of any attack, should be protected by those who had engaged in the treaty: and to this, he insisted, he had readily subscribed. As to any breach of promise, he appealed to the terms of their treaty, which must demonstrate, that he had entered into no such engagements as the Athenians imputed to him. As to the acquisitions made by his arms since the peace, the equity of such proceedings he offered to submit to umpires. He put them in mind, that all the Athenian prisoners had been given up; and concluded with declaring, that all disputes between the Cardians and the Athenian colony in the Chersonesus, should be decided by an arbitration; and that the Cardians were ready to submit to such decision. And, while he thus endeavoured to set his conduct in the fairest point of view, he remonstrated against the insolence of the Athenian orators, and called on the people to guard against their insidious and malicious representations.

In the above-mentioned oration, all these several articles are particularly discussed. The speaker, among other particulars, insists, that the

the Athenians could not, consistently with their honour, accept of Halonesus as a free gift, but should resume it as restored to the lawful proprietors. The method of arbitration he represents as shameful and dangerous; asserts the dignity of Athens, and speaks with contempt of Macedon and Philip. His pretence of suppressing piracy, he represents as a design to gain the sovereignty of the seas. He reminds his hearers of the letter in which Philip acknowledged their right to Amphipolis, when he formerly laid siege to it. His attempts to clear up all objections to his sincerity, all suspicions of breach of promise, he treats with contempt. Instead of leaving the Grecian cities free, he observes, that he had delivered up three cities in the Cassiopea (Pandolia, Buceta, and Elatia, the property of the Eleans) to Alexander of Epirus; instead of delivering up their prisoners, he had even refused them the body of one of their hosts and agents who had died in Macedon, and which they had demanded by three different deputations. He concludes, with representing Philip's injustice and oppression of the Athenian colony in the Chersonesus; and insists, that it is an insult to the Athenians to propose an arbitration, and to engage that the Cardians should be determined by it, as if Athens, could not, by force of arms,

Book IV.

reduce that turbulent people within the bounds of reason and equity.

Liban. Arg.
in Orat. de
Halon.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
30.

THE author of this oration takes notice of his having gone on an embassy to Macedon, in order to explain and amend the articles of the late treaty. He also mentions his having brought an accusation against one Callipus, who, by a decree which he proposed, acknowledged and favoured the pretensions of the Cardians. Both which circumstances agree to Hegesippus, and have induced the critics and commentators to ascribe this performance to that orator. It is certain, that Demosthenes also spoke on this occasion. He insisted on the distinction between accepting and refusing the Halonesus: he declared violently against an arbitration (as we are informed by Æschines): because no impartial mediating state could be found, (as he asserted) so totally were the minds of all men corrupted by the Macedonian. The character of his ambassadors he treated with great freedom, and declared, that they were no other than spies: neither of which latter circumstances are found in the oration above-mentioned, which, it may be at least affirmed, doth not appear well calculated to produce any considerable effect. Something more violent, forcible, and pathetic, seems to have

have been demanded by the occasion, by the abilities of Philip, and the natural temper of the Athenians. But, whatever may have been the reason, whether the strength of their representations who opposed the Macedonian, or the present dispositions of the Athenians, the deputies, who presented Philip's letter, were dismissed without any satisfactory answer.

SECT. I.

By the reception which these deputies now found at Athens, and the eagerness with which the people listened to the popular leaders who opposed the Macedonian interest, it appeared plainly, that the influence of Philip's partisans was declining in this state. This was then a favourable time for bringing the conduct of those who had contributed to deceive the people, and had favoured the designs of the king of Macedon, to a judicial examination: and, accordingly, Demosthenes chose this opportunity of preferring an accusation against Æschines, for fraud and corruption in his late conduct of the treaty; which occasioned the two orations on the subject of their Embassy, worthy the reputation of these rival orators; and second only to those pronounced in the cause of Ctesiphon.

THE oration of Demosthenes for Ctesiphon is superiour to that of Æschines, even in the judge-

Oliv. l. xi.
p. 188.

Book IV.

Æschin.

Epist. 12.

ment of Æschines himself. But this doth not seem to be the case in the orations on the Embassy. That of Æschines appears more varied, and more pathetic; nor is it surprising that he should have exerted the utmost efforts of his genius for the defence of his life and of his honour: his peroration is exceedingly affecting, and the most exquisite address appears under that air of abasement and languour that runs through the whole of it. The different successes of these two orations, those on the Embassy, and those in the cause of Ctesiphon, may, in some sort, enable us to decide on their different merit; for the Athenians were frequently determined more by the eloquence of the speaker than by the goodness of the cause.

Suidas in voce

Αἰσχίνης.

* In Vit. Demosthen.

ON the present occasion, Æschines was, with great difficulty, acquitted but by thirty voices, and this, as is said, by the intrigues of his friend Eubulus. * Plutarch, indeed, seems to doubt whether this cause was ever heard; as neither Demosthenes nor Æschines take any notice of the decision in their orations on the crown. But the disappointment of Demosthenes, who was the accuser, and the great difficulty, or perhaps the manner, of Æschines's escape, may account for the silence both of one and the other. † In a letter addressed by Æschines to the senate and people

† Epist. 12.

people of Athens, in the time of his exile, he takes notice of his acquittal, on this occasion, as an incontestible proof of his innocence.

SECT. I.

As to the merits of the cause, I do not think it proper to enter into a minute discussion of them; it is sufficient to have represented the conduct of these two statesmen, in their embassies, as fully and impartially as I could, without presuming to direct the judgment of the reader.

Sec. 13
 13

people of Athens, in the time of his exile, he
 takes notice of his acquittal, on this occasion, as
 an indisputable proof of his innocence.

As to the merits of the cause, I do not think
 it proper to enter into a minute discussion of
 them; it is sufficient to have repeated the non-
 doct of these two gentlemen, in their embassage,
 as fully and impartially as I could, without pre-
 suming to direct the judgment of the reader.

BOOK IV. SECTION II.

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BOOK

BOOK THE FOURTH,

SECTION II.

WHILE the Athenians were venting their resentment and indignation at home, against those who were regarded as the partisans of Macedon; they seemed also disposed to exert some degree of vigour abroad. Their general Diopithes was sent to the Hellespont to support the Athenian colony in the Chersonesus, and to repress the encroachments of the Cardians; and his secret instructions were to neglect no occasion of distressing Philip. His arrival in the Chersonesus could not but greatly alarm the inhabitants of Cardia. They instantly sent to acquaint Philip, who was now in the upper Thrace, of this important event, earnestly imploring his succour, and offering to submit themselves entirely to the government and jurisdiction of Macedon. Diopithes, on his part, having encouraged and provided for the defence of the Athenian settlements in the Chersonesus, determined to act agreeably to what he deemed the spirit of his commission; and, taking the favourable advantage

Book IV.
SECT. II.

Olymp. 109.
Y. 3.

Liban. Arg.
in Orat. de
Chers.

Book IV.

vantage of Philip's absence, who was now engaged in a contest with Amadocus, the brother of Cerfobleptes and king of the Odrysians, he made an inroad on those territories of the Macedonian, which lay in the maritime parts of Thrace. Here he stormed two cities, Crobylè and Tiristasis, and carried off a considerable booty, and a number of prisoners; all which he lodged safely in the Chersonesus. Amphilocheus, a Macedonian of some eminence, was dispatched on this occasion to his camp, in quality of an ambassador, to treat about the ransom of those prisoners. But the Athenian general, flushed with his success, not only refused him an audience, but caused him to be seized, contrary to the law of arms, and cast into prison: from whence, after a confinement sufficiently severe, he was obliged to purchase his release at the expence of nine talents. In this excursion of Diopithes, an herald, charged with packets for Macedon, was also seized, who was thrown into chains, and his letters sent to Athens, where they were read in a full assembly.

Lucian Encom. Dem.

THESE hostilities could not fail to alarm all the Macedonian settlements upon the coast. A courier was instantly dispatched to Philip with a full relation of those motions of Diopithes, on which Antipater enlarged with the zeal of a faith-

a faithful minister, expressed his apprehensions of the consequences, and urged Philip to an immediate opposition. But this prince resolved, that no petty hostilities or depredations should divert him from his main designs; these he knew he could revenge at leisure, and therefore determined to pursue his present expedition, and to complete the conquest of the Odrysian Thrace.

SECT. II.

HE is said to have answered Antipater with a smile, in the following manner:—"And do
"you really fear this Athenian general and his
"army? To me their ships, their port, their
"arsenals, are but trifles. What effect can
"these produce, when their possessors are wholly
"employed in games and public entertain-
"ments? Were not the Athenians possessed of
"so invaluable a treasure as Demosthenes, force,
"or artifice, or corruption, would enable me
"to command them much sooner than the
"Thebans and Thessalians. He it is who
"watches over their state; he it is who pur-
"sues me with incessant vigilance, who crosses
"my schemes, and counteracts all my attempts;
"whose penetration my deepest artifice, my most
"secretly concerted designs, never can escape:
"the grand and only obstacle to the progress
"of my power. If we now possess Amphi-
"polis,

Lucian En-
com. Dem.

BOOK IV.

" polis; if we command Olynthus, Thermo-
 " pylae, and Phocis; if we have established our
 " power in the Chersonesus and the Hellespont;
 " his vigorous opposition was never wanting to
 " oppose us. He rouses the supine; he awakens
 " his fellow-citizens from their lethargic state,
 " as it were by incision and cauterizing, with-
 " out the least deference to their follies, or the
 " least fear of their displeasure. He directs the
 " appointment of their treasures; he restores
 " the wretched state of their marine, by his
 " wise institutions. He recalls their attention,
 " from their theatrical distributions, to the ho-
 " nour of their country, to their ancient glory,
 " and the victories of Marathon and Salamis.
 " He procures them allies and subsidies. No
 " artifice can escape his penetration; no temp-
 " tation can corrupt his integrity. It is De-
 " mosthenes therefore that I fear much more
 " than all the force of Athens. In prudence
 " and policy, he is not inferiour to Themis-
 " tocles; in greatness of soul, he is equal to
 " Pericles. This it is that secures the attach-
 " ment of the Greeks to Athens. We are ob-
 " liged to this state for intrusting their armies
 " to Chares, Diopithes, and Proxenus; and
 " keeping Demosthenes at home. Did he com-
 " mand their forces, their navies, their expedi-
 " tions, and their treasures; I fear that he would
 " even

“even render our very throne precarious, who
 “now, by his decrees only, pursues and attacks
 “us with so much violence, obstructs our de-
 “signs, collects such vast supplies, and raises
 “such powerful armies.”

Sacr. II.

Such a noble testimony is Philip said, by Lucian, to have given to the merit and abilities of the great Athenian; and such contempt did he express of their commander. His honour required however that the hostilities of Diopithes should not pass entirely unnoticed: therefore addressed a letter to the Athenians, in which he represented the conduct of this general with every aggravating and invidious circumstance; he took notice of those mutual engagements which subsisted between them; professed his disposition to adhere inviolably to these; demanded, from the justice of the state, that a punishment might be inflicted on their officer adequate to his offence, or else he must be forced, he said, to repress the insolence of Diopithes; and, in that case, whatever measures his honour and his security might demand, could not, he presumed, be considered at Athens as any infraction of the late treaty.

Liban. arg.
 in Orat. de
 Cherson.

This letter instantly raised an unusual ferment in the state; and the conduct of Diopithes
 was

Book IV.

Demost. de
Cherson.
sect. 1, 2.

was canvassed with all imaginable violence and heat, both in the senate and the assembly. The partisans of Macedon inveighed loudly against this general, and called for all the severity of public justice against a man, who, they alleged, had been guilty of a most unjust and unwarrantable outrage; had presumed to attack a formidable power, with whom his country was in actual alliance, and was now involving Athens in a dangerous, expensive, and unnecessary war. To these they added reflections on the Athenians themselves, and their equivocal conduct with respect to Philip. They had concluded a treaty with him, and affected to adhere to it; and yet, at the same time, such was the inconsistency of their conduct, that they encouraged and supported every attempt to infest his territories and annoy his subjects. Such proceedings arraigned the honour, and reflected on the understanding, of the people. There were but two different measures that could possibly be recommended or pursued, either to observe the peace inviolably, or to declare war in form, and act like a fair and open enemy. The first of these was both equitable and expedient, as Philip had, as yet, made no attack on them; the latter precarious and dangerous, and could be proposed only by those, who, regardless of the safety and tranquillity of their country, sought a pre-

a pretence for acquiring the management of the treasury, which, in times of confusion, they might apply with impunity to their own wicked purposes, and enrich themselves and families with the spoils of the public.

Sect. II.

THE inattention or profusion of the Athenians had reduced Diopithes to many difficulties in relation to the pay and maintenance of his forces; and from these he found no other means of extricating himself, than by heavy exactions on the Athenian colonies lying along the Hellespont, which, notwithstanding the plea of necessity, were severely felt by these people, and now became another subject of complaint in the assembly. "Is this man's conduct," cried his enemies, "actuated by any regard to the interest and honour of his country, who thus harasses and plunders our dependent cities; whose avarice breaks through all the ties of society, and who is deaf to the solicitations of humanity; whose rapine and extortion alienate the affections of our colonies; and who, while he draws from their vitals the means of pursuing the extravagant schemes of his own vanity and ambition, leaves them defenceless, and exposed to the incursions of any Barbarians, who may deem it worth while to strip them of their poor remains of property."

Dem. de
Cherf. sect.
7.

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THE general principle on which Diopithes had now acted was undoubtedly just and warrantable. For when any potentate hath discovered a manifest disposition to distress and injure a neighbouring people, and has even proceeded to actual attempts on their dominions and dependent territories; it will be allowed, I presume, that the law of nations must ever consider such a conduct as equivalent to an open avowal and declaration of hostilities. Yet in some instances this general had acted intemperately and unjustly, and these duly improved, and represented in their full force, seem to have had a considerable effect, and threatened Diopithes with the resentment of his fellow-citizens; when Demosthenes, ever zealous and indefatigable in his opposition to Macedon, arose to support the cause of this commander.

Dem. de
Chers. sect.
I.

“It were to be wished, Athenians,” (thus did this illustrious orator introduce his animated harangue) “that they who speak in public would never suffer hatred or affection to influence their counsels; but, in all that they propose, be directed by unbiaſſed reason; particularly, when affairs of state, and those of highest moment, are the object of our attention. But since there are persons, whose speeches are partly dictated by a spirit of contention,

“tention, partly by other like motives; it is
 “your duty, Athenians, to exert that power
 “which your numbers give you, and, in all
 “your resolutions, and in all your actions, to
 “consider only the interest of your country.”

Sect. II.

It seems probable from this exordium, that Diopithes and his advocates had not only the corrupted partisans of Macedon to contend with but many others, who were influenced by private enmity to this general, or whose vanity prompted them to affect appearing considerable in the assembly, and to declaim on the attention due to public faith, and the dishonour reflected on their country by any violation of it; or with others, whose natural coldness and caution, whose consciousness of the weakness and corruption of their state, and the ever increasing power of its rival, made them look with horror on every motion which tended to an open rupture.

BUT the force of Demosthenes, which seems to have been all exerted on this occasion, gave a new turn to the debate, and effectually supported the cause of Diopithes, by inspiring the assembly with the warmest indignation and resentment of Philip's conduct. This is the object which he presents to them as really worthy of their serious attention, while all disputes about

Book IV.

Sect. 2.

the conduct of their officer he affects to consider as a matter foreign to their present purpose:

“As to crimes objected to those men, whom our laws can punish when we please; I, for my part, think it quite indifferent, whether they be considered now, or at some other time; nor is this a point to be violently contested by me, or any other speaker. But when Philip, the enemy of our country, is now actually hovering about the Hellespont, with a numerous army, and making attempts on our dominions, which, if one moment neglected, the loss may be irreparable, here our attention is instantly demanded; we should resolve, we should prepare, with all possible expedition, and not run from our main concern, in the midst of foreign clamours and accusations.

Dem. de
Cherson.
sect. 3.

“I HAVE frequently been surprised at assertions made in public;” thus the orator proceeds; “but never more, than when I lately heard it affirmed in the senate, that there are but two expedients to be proposed, either absolutely to declare war, or to continue in peace. The point is this: if Philip acts as one in amity with us; if he does not keep possession of our dominions, contrary to his treaty; if he be not every-where spiriting up enemies against us; all debates are at an end; we are undoubtedly

“undoubtedly obliged to live in peace, and I
 “find it perfectly agreeable to you. But if the
 “articles of our treaty, ratified by the most so-
 “lemn oath, remain upon record, open to pub-
 “lic inspection; if it appears that, long before
 “the departure of Diopithes and his colony,
 “who are now accused of involving us in a war,
 “Philip had unjustly seized many of our posses-
 “sions (for which I appeal to your own decrees);
 “if, ever since that time, he hath been constantly
 “arming himself with all the powers of Greeks
 “and Barbarians, to destroy us; what do these
 “men mean, who affirm we are either abso-
 “lutely to declare war, or to observe the peace?
 “You have no choice at all; you have but one
 “just and necessary measure to pursue, which
 “they industriously pass over. And what is
 “this? To repel force by force. Unless they
 “will affirm, that, while Philip keeps from
 “Attica and the Piræus, he does our state no
 “injury, makes no war against us. If it be thus
 “they state the bounds of peace and justice, we
 “must all acknowledge, that their sentiments are
 “inconsistent with the common rights of man-
 “kind, with the dignity and the safety of Athens.”

As to the objection to Diopithes, with respect
 to his treatment of the allies, he gives this the
 most plausible turn, and represents it as the dic-

BOOK IV.

Γ. m. de
C. erion,
lect. 8.

tates of treachery and corruption: "It hath
 "been the constant custom of all the command-
 "ers who have sailed from this city (if I ad-
 "vance a falsehood, let me feel the severest pu-
 "nishment) to take money from the Chians,
 "and from the Erythrians, and from any people
 "that would give it; I mean of the inhabitants
 "of Asia. They who have but one or two
 "ships, take a talent; they who command a
 "greater force, raise a larger contribution. And
 "the people who give this money, whether more
 "or less, do not give it for nothing (they are
 "not so mad), no; it is the price they pay to
 "secure their trading vessels from rapine and
 "piracy, to provide them with the necessary
 "convoys, and the like, however they may pre-
 "tend friendship and affection, and dignify these
 "payments with the name of free gifts. It is
 "therefore evident, that, as Diopithes is at the
 "head of a considerable power, the same contri-
 "butions will be granted to him. Else, how
 "shall he pay his soldiers? How shall he main-
 "tain them, who receives nothing from you, and
 "has nothing of his own? From the skies? No;
 "but from what he can collect, and beg, and
 "borrow. So that the whole scheme of his ac-
 "cusers is to warn all people to grant him no-
 "thing, as he is to suffer punishment for crimes
 "yet to be committed, not for any he hath al-
 "ready

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“ ready committed, or in which he hath already
“ assisted.” SECT. II.

IN order to set the shameful misconduct of his SECT. 9.
countrymen in the strongest light, and, at the
same time, to preserve the respect due to his
hearers, he makes use of a remarkably beautiful
prosopopoeia, and imagines that the several
powers of Greece thus call on the Athenians to
account for their conduct: “ Men of Athens !
“ you are ever sending embassies to us ; you
“ assure us, that Philip is projecting our ruin,
“ and that of all the Greeks ; you warn us to
“ guard against this man’s designs. (And it is
“ too true, we have done thus.) But, O most
“ wretched of mankind ! when this man had
“ been ten months detained abroad ; when sick-
“ ness, and the severity of winter, and the armies
“ of his enemies, rendered it impossible for him
“ to return home ; you neither restored the
“ liberty of Euboea, nor recovered any of your
“ own dominions. But, while you sit at home
“ in perfect ease and health (if such a state may
“ be called health), Euboea is commanded by
“ his two tyrants ; the one just opposite to
“ Attica, to keep you perpetually in awe ; the
“ other to Scyathus. Yet you have not at-
“ tempted to oppose even this. No ; you have
“ submitted ; you have been insensible to your

Q 4

“ wrongs ;

Book IV.

“ wrongs; you have fully declared, that, if
 “ Philip were ten times to die, it would not in-
 “ spire you with the least degree of vigour. Why
 “ then these embassies, these accusations, all this
 “ unnecessary trouble, to us?—If they should
 “ say this, what could we allege? What answer
 “ could we give? I know not!”

THUS, in the instances of his greatest severity, he takes care not to shock those whom he would persuade. His boldest and most violent censures are always qualified with some declarations of respect, of the sincerity of his intentions, or of the necessity of dealing freely and candidly with the assembly. And never do we find in those writings of Demosthenes, which are confessedly genuine, such rude and insolent expressions, as appear in the conclusion of the oration on the Halonesus [A.]

THE sum of his advice, on the present occasion, is this: that they should consider Philip as the enemy of their state, the implacable enemy of their free constitution; that they should be

[A] Προσκαί αὐτὰς ὑφ’ ὧν κακούς κακῶς ἀπολωλάναι, εἰπερ ὑμῖς τοὶ ἐγκεφαλὸν ἐν τοῖς κεράφοις, καὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς πλεραίς καλαπτοκαίημινοι φορεῖτε. *It must be your part to pursue those wretches to utter destruction, if your brains be seated in your heads, and are not sunk into your heels, there to be trodden down.*

persuaded,

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persuaded, that all his designs are really aimed against Athens; and that, wherever any man opposes him, he opposes an attempt against their walls; and that of consequence, instead of recalling Diopithes, or disbanding his army, they should rather reinforce him, and supply his men with every provision that might enable and encourage them to defend the rights of their country.

Sect. II.

Nor did his eloquence fail to have its due effect. The Athenians were fired with the warmest sentiments and resolutions. They forgot all their scruples, and despised all the objections made to Diopithes: the most vigorous resolutions were made, to enable him to pursue his success: and Callias, another of their commanders, encouraged by the present dispositions of his countrymen, fell on some cities which lay upon the gulph of Pagasae, and which were dependent on Philip, where he seized some vessels laden with merchandises, bound to Macedon, and treated the goods and passengers as lawful prize.

Epi. Phil.

PHILIP looked with a just contempt on these hostilities, as the result of envy and jealousy, rather than of a true vigour and resolution; and which he knew when, and in what manner, to revenge,

Book IV.

Demosth.
Phil. 3.
sect. 4.
Oliv. l. 12.
p. 196.

Dem. de
Corona,
sect. 27.
Ulp. in Loc.

revenge, although designs of more importance prevented him at present from repelling them. He had subjected all the tract which lay between the Nessus and Hebrus, where he took the cities Drongilus and Mastira, conquests in themselves of small value, as their revenues were all derived from some collieries and mines in the adjacent districts; but of great consequence, as they opened him a free passage to the cities on the Propontis, objects worthy of his ambition, both on account of their grandeur and importance, and as, by subduing them, he might reduce the Athenians to the utmost difficulties, and even deprive them of the common necessaries for their support. Byzantium in particular, one of those great marts from whence Attica was supplied with corn, he determined, if possible, to unite to his dominions; and, for this purpose, had at first tried what might be effected by the way of negociation, that, by gaining over the Byzantines into the number of his allies, he might gradually and imperceptibly reduce them to the condition of subjects. But this people, proud of their wealth and independence, and possibly taught by experience and reflection on the fate of other cities, to suspect the real intentions of the king of Macedon, rejected all his offers of alliance, and obliged him to concert other methods for reducing them to his obedience. He made

made some motions, which plainly indicated a design to attack them; and is said to have begun, according to his usual politics, with lavishing his gold among the citizens; and, by this means, to have gained over a party (of which Python was the head), who engaged to give him possession of one of the gates. But whether the timely discovery of this conspiracy obliged him to change his route, in order to screen the guilt of Python, and to save him from punishment; or that he conceived his design was not yet ripe for execution; he suspended his hostilities, and, for some time, continued at his own court.

SECT. II.

Dem. de
Cherson.
sect. 19.

Oliv. l. 22.
p. 197.

ABOUT this time it was, that the young prince Alexander discovered his address and spirit by breaking Bucephalus. The manner of it is thus described by *Plutarch: a Thessalian, called Philonicus, offered to sell this horse to Philip, and rated him at thirteen talents. The king and his courtiers went into a plain to try him, but found him vicious and unmanageable, impatient of the touch, and even of the voice, of those who attempted to mount him. The king, in disgust, ordered this untractable beast to be sent away; when Alexander, who stood by, lamented that so excellent a horse should be lost by unskilfulness and timorousness. Philip reproved his presumption; but, as he still insisted

* In Vit.
Alexand.

sisted that the horse might be managed, at last agreed to entrust the attempt to him, on condition, that, if he failed, he should forfeit the price at which the horse was rated. Alexander then ran up, and seized the bridle; turning Bucephalus directly to the sun, as he had taken notice that he was disturbed and affrighted by the motion of his shadow. He then led him gently on; and, when he began to rear up, softly casting off his robe, at one bound seated himself on his back; and, without lashing or spurring, reined him gradually and quietly. When he thus found his fury somewhat abated, he indulged his impatience for the course, and boldly pressed him forward, both with voice and heel. The courtiers at first beheld him with solicitude and silence; but, when they found him reining round, and returning in exultation, they burst into loud shouts of applause; and, as he dismounted, his father, embracing him with tears of love and joy, cried out, "My son, seek for
"some kingdom worthy of thy soul: Macedon
"is too little for thee."

Oliv. l. 12.
p. 201.

THESE emotions of paternal tenderness seem to afford a convincing proof that Philip was an utter stranger to any disadvantageous rumours about the conduct of Olympias; or, at least, gave no credit to such reports. He seems to have

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have beheld, with pleasure, that nobleness and elevation which the prince discovered; and to have been duly attentive to cherish and cultivate his great qualities, and to correct his errors. The manners of Alexander were mixed with an haughtiness and fierceness far removed from the affability of his father. To one who proposed to him to contend at the Olympic games,—"Yes," said he, "if I may have kings for my competitors." He punished a Macedonian noble, who, to pay his court, suffered him to gain the advantage in a race where they both contended. In conferring favours, he seemed frequently governed by caprice, and treated his father's subjects, at some times, rather as his own slaves. Philip, who foresaw that this haughty humour must necessarily increase when he came to the throne, omitted nothing in his power to correct and moderate it. He frequently repeated that precept, so worthy to be engraved in the memory of all who are born to a kingdom, "Be affable whilst you may." He also instructed him in the manner of bestowing; and made him observe, that the way which he pursued could only serve to exhaust his treasure, without gaining him the sincere attachment of any person. From his earliest years, he received the accounts of his father's victories with uneasiness, lest, as he said, there should be nothing left for him to achieve;

Suet. II.

Plutarch. in
Vit. Alex.
in Apophth.

Plutarch.
Apophth.

Cicer. de
Off. l. 2. 15.
Valer. Max.

Book IV.

Plot. in Vit.
Alex.

Ibid.

atchieve; and the Macedonians, who were principally attentive to that strong passion for glory which Alexander discovered, and which could not fail to recommend him to the affection and respect of a warlike nation, called him their king, at the same time that they gave Philip the title of their general: nor was Philip displeased to find these names thus shared between them.

Epist. Phil.

In the mean time, the perpetual contests and diffensions which raged all around him, and which the jealous machinations of his enemies, and their just apprehensions of his ambition were perpetually exciting, obliged him to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The Peparethians, a people in alliance with Athens, who inhabited an island equally distant from Euboea and Thessaly, could not but look with uneasiness on Halonesus (which lay to the west of them) now in the hands of the Macedonians, neighbours, whom they dreaded and suspected. They were much better pleased with the pirates, the late possessors of this island, with whom they had carried on an advantageous trade. They, therefore, made a descent on Halonesus, where they surprised and carried off the Macedonian garrison in chains. Philip at first remonstrated against this outrage, but soon found it in vain to expect attention or redress; and therefore determined

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to have recourse to the more effectual way of arms. He detached some forces, which soon drove out the Peparethians from their new conquest; and inflicted the utmost severities of war on these insolent islanders. Their sufferings were represented at Athens, whose jurisdiction they acknowledged; and gave occasion for new complaints against the conduct of Macedon. The generals were ordered to protect the wretched Peparethians, and the orators inveighed against the cruelty and barbarity of Philip.

SECT. II.

THE perpetual contests which this prince and the Athenians maintained in Euboea, and their mutual efforts to support their power in this important island, had produced the utmost disorder in the several states of which it was composed. In Eretria, the fair assurances and promises of Philip had alienated the people from the interest of Athens. They even refused to listen to the ambassadors sent from that city, to inspire them with suspicions of the Macedonian, and to engage them to return to their former connexions. They banished all those, whose fears of future danger, or whose attachment to Athens, induced them to oppose the Macedonian, and resigned themselves with unreserved confidence to Philip. But they were soon made to feel the fatal consequences of this conduct. A thousand

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 12—
14.

Book IV.

thousand mercenaries were sent from Macedon, who raised the fortifications of Porthmus, and thus effectually defeated all future attempts to prevent the Macedonian from passing freely over into the island. Supported by this force, three of Philip's creatures, Hipparchus, Automedon, and Clitarchus, established themselves in the government of Eretria, where they oppressed and persecuted all those without mercy, who betrayed the least dissatisfaction at their measures, or the least inclination to oppose the Macedonian interest. Some ineffectual attempts were made to check the progress of this tyranny, which served only to confirm and increase it. New forces were sent from Macedon, under the command of Eurylochus, who instantly drove out the disaffected. An opposition was again attempted, and again were troops dispatched under the conduct of Parmenio, who defeated and chastised their combinations, and completed the subjection of Eretria.

Sect. 13.

In Oreum, the general terror, which the imprisonment of Euphraeus had produced, confirmed the power of Philistides and his accomplices, and emboldened them to act with less caution and reserve. The inhabitants groaned under their tyranny; and some were yet found, who openly lamented and inveighed against the
 designs

designs of their governours. Contests and divisions thence arose in the city; and Philip was soon made sensible of the necessity of sending an effectual support to his friends and partisans. He address'd a letter to that people, in which he took notice, that he had received advice of many tumults and divisions with which their city was distracted. He had therefore ordered a body of forces to march into Oreum, to take cognizance of their affairs, and re-establish the tranquillity of their city; for that he, as their friend and ally, could not look with indifference on events which so nearly affected their welfare, or refuse his interposition for the regulation of their disorders. The forces were accordingly dispatched; and, though the fate of other states sufficiently informed the people of what they were to apprehend, yet so great and so general was the dejection, that they were admitted without any considerable opposition. Philistides waited only for this event, to give a free course to his tyranny and cruelty. All the adverse party were removed, either by banishment or death: and the unfortunate Euphraeus found no other means of eluding the revenge of a tyrant, now armed with power, and inflamed by resentment, but by putting an end to life with his own hand.

SECT. II.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 3.

SECT. 13.

BUT the insolence and cruelty of Philistides soon made the people weary of his government, and gave them an aversion to the party on which he depended for his support. The Athenian agents were secretly employed in cherishing these sentiments; and, aided by the natural inconstancy of the people, were preparing all matters for a revolution. Callias the Chalcidian, who had acted as a partisan to Athens, Macedon, and Thebes, successively, and had incurred the displeasure both of Philip and the Thebans, now returned to his engagements with the first of these states; and sent three emissaries to Athens, in quality of ambassadors, from Chalcis. These men represented the deplorable condition of the island in general, groaning under the Macedonian yoke, and of their own city in particular; and earnestly urged the Athenians to assert their interests in Euboea, and to act agreeably to that character, which had ever been their boast and glory, in delivering the Chalcidians from oppression and tyranny. To secure the success of this negotiation the more effectually, the principal popular leaders were gained over, and engaged, by presents and promises, to plead the cause of Chalcis. Of this number was Demosthenes, if we may believe his rival; who, it seems, transacted this affair with all the address of a subtle and

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and able advocate. In all the Grecian wars, the inferiour parties had ever been obliged to send their deputies to that state which was considered as the head of the confederacy, and there to pay their respective subsidies to the support of the common cause. But Demosthenes, as his conduct is represented by Æschines, contrived, that the Chalcidians should neither be obliged to the one nor the other of these, by prevailing on the assembly to resolve to send assistance to Chalcis, from the mere motive of generosity. "It becomes our state," said he, "without any preliminary stipulations, to send immediate assistance to the distressed: let us, then, enter into formal engagements with them, when, by their actions, they have appeared themselves our real friends." But, lest a dependence on the generosity and public spirit of Athens might prove too precarious, he, at the same time, contrived to attach the state more firmly to the Chalcidians, without subjecting this latter people to any immediate burdens attending a confederacy; and this by making the Chalcidians engage to assist the Athenians on every occasion; which gave them as full a claim to the assistance of Athens, as if it had been formally stipulated; these engagements being ever considered as mutual. Such refinements may now be deemed inconsiderable;

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but

but in the Athenian assemblies they had great importance.

*Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
34.*

THE people of Oreum and Eretria appeared equally solicitous to gain the assistance of Athens, in order to relieve them from their present difficulties; and the Macedonian interest seems to have been already so far weakened, that each of these states was now able to consult publicly, and in a body, for the restoration of their liberty. Callias was sent, in person to Athens, as the agent of the Euboean cities. Here he affected the warmest zeal for the common cause of liberty, and the most sincere abhorrence of the ambition of the Macedonian. All Greece he declared was now convinced of his dangerous and aspiring designs, and only waited till led on by Athens to overwhelm him. "I am this moment," said he, addressing himself to the assembly, "arrived from Peloponnesus. There the several powers have, at my instances, resolved to raise one hundred talents, to support a war against the common enemy. I have settled the proportion of each state. Sixty are to be paid by the Achæans and Megareans. To these the cities of Euboea are to add forty. Other states and cities, through all Greece, have cheerfully agreed to contribute to this glorious cause. Thus

Ibid.

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“ shall we be amply provided with forces, and enabled to keep up a formidable power both by sea and land. These are the effects of my negotiations, universally known and acknowledged. Other matters have I transacted, other advantages have I obtained, not so proper to be here displayed. But numbers in this assembly are well informed of them, and can give full attestation to my assiduity and sincere attachment to Athens.”

THE people was pleased and flattered by this harangue. They fancied that they now appeared in their old glorious character of the sovereigns and arbiters of the fate of Greece, the patrons and protectors of liberty, avengers of injustice and ambition, and supporters of the weak and oppressed. To confirm them in their present sentiments, Demosthenes now appeared, and, with his usual vehemence, urged them to vigilance and vigour, to a just attention to their own interests, and the common cause of Greece.

Æschin. in Ctes. sect. 34.

He had been gained, if we may credit * *Æschines*, by the promise of three talents, to dispose his countrymen to assist the Euboëans in the opposition now meditated against Philip. One of these talents was to be paid by Callias, another by the state of Oreum, and a third, as his rival orator asserts, by Clitarchus of Eretria, who, in

** in Ctesiph. sect. 35.*

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Dem. in O.
lympiodor.
p. 652.
Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
34.

such a case, must have forsaken his old connexions with Philip. But, whether influenced by private motives, or a regard to the public interest, or both conjointly, his eloquence had its usual effect. He heaped the most magnificent praises on Callias, and professed himself privy to those secret affairs which he had hinted at. He was convinced, he said, that he had justly represented the dispositions of the Greeks, with which his late embassy into Peloponnesus had made him well acquainted. His transactions in that country, and in Acharnania, where commotions had arisen, and where the Athenians had been persuaded to send both forces and ambassadors to oppose some attempts of Philip, he was now ready to report in form; the sum of which was this: he had prevailed on the Peloponnesians and Acharnanians to unite vigorously in the common cause, and cheerfully to contribute their several quotas, in order to support their liberty, and check the dangerous and growing power of the Macedonian: that all these quotas were completely settled and adjusted, and that the whole would not only be sufficient to fit out one hundred ships of war, but to maintain a mercenary army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse: that to these were to be added the domestic forces of those people, two thousand from Peloponnesus, and two

two thousand more from Achaënaia. All this formidable body was now ready to follow the standard, and march under the direction and command of Athens. These prospects, so fair and promising, were neither uncertain nor remote. The departure of this army was settled, and it was to take the field on the sixteenth day of the next month Anthesterion: for that he had directed the several states to send their deputies to Athens, in order to settle all future operations at the time of full moon. He concluded with proposing a decree, that ambassadors should be sent to the Eretrians to engage them effectually in this confederacy; that others should be sent to Oreeum to prevail on that state to enter into a strict offensive and defensive alliance with Athens, and to desire that each of these communities should pay the five talents, their respective shares of the expence of the intended war, into the hands of Callias, a person on whom Athens had the most implicit reliance, and who could best judge in what manner they might be applied to greatest advantage for the general interest.

In the mean time, the king of Persia, alarmed by the accounts which he had received from his ambassadors of Philip's power, and justly dreading that invasion which the Macedonian

really

Oliv. l. 12, p. 209.

Plut. in Vit. Demost.

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really meditated, and which was now become a favourite topic of discourse both at his court, and in the several states of Greece, sent his agents to Athens, who there employed all their art to encourage and enliven the present spirit of the people; and, by the power of gold, engaged some principal popular leaders to urge their countrymen to open hostilities against an enemy equally the object of terroure and suspicion to the Persians and Athenians. No time could have been more favourable to such a measure. The jealousy and vanity of the people were inflamed by the prospect of powerful supplies and assistance: and, in their present fit of zeal, every representation of the danger to be dreaded from the enterprising king of Macedonia, flattered their passions and opinions. In the midst of this commotion, which envy, jealousy, shame, the warmth of patriotism, and the secret practices of intrigue, all conspired to raise, Demosthenes pronounced that oration, which is commonly called the third Philippic.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 4.

THE present object of the assembly was not only to secure the Athenian interest in Euboea, but to preserve the colonies on the Hellespont, and the settlements in the Chersonesus, from the attempts of Philip; and to guard against those designs which it was now clear that he entertained

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tained against the cities of the Propontis, particularly against Byzantium. His creatures and partisans at Athens were not yet dismayed, but exerted all their diligence and artifice to allay the storm which threatened their master, and to bring back the Athenians to their former state of supineness and insensibility. They loudly cried out (as may with great probability be collected from the oration of Demosthenes above-mentioned) against all infringements of the late treaty; and, as usual, accused those who recommended vigorous measures, as enemies to the honour and tranquillity of their country. All late transactions they canvassed with great severity, and declaimed with warmth and violence against evil counsellors and weak and wicked ministers. All appearances of danger, all fears of Philip and his designs, they treated with a sovereign contempt: they expatiated on the glorious actions of their countrymen in former times; on the difficulties they had encountered, and the success which had attended their arms in their contest with Lacedaemon. Present difficulties they represented as infinitely inferior, and the enemy, now painted in such alarming colours, as infinitely less powerful and formidable. To this they seem to have added some insinuations or invectives against Demosthenes particularly, as a subtle and corrupted partisan, who

SECT. II.

Dem. Phil.
3. sect. 3.

SECT. III.

SECT. IV.

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who looked with honour on their sincere zeal for the honour and happiness of Athens, and on their discernment, which saw through his designs, though veiled under the appearance of public spirit; and who justly merited the severity of justice, by presuming to violate the respect due to a prince in alliance with Athens.

The third Philippic was calculated to obviate their insinuations, and to confute their assertions. The insincerity of the public speakers, Demosthenes represents as the great cause of all the difficulties of the commonwealth; and desires the permission of the assembly, to speak his sentiments freely, without art or reserve.

Dem. Phil.,
3. sect. 2.

“On other occasions,” saith he, “you account liberty of speech so general a privilege of all within your city, that aliens and slaves are allowed to share it. So that many domestics may be found among you, speaking their thoughts with less reserve than citizens, in some other states. But from your councils you have utterly banished it.” The dangers of their present condition; the dangers to be apprehended from the enemies of the state who lie concealed within the city; and the dangers arising from the aspiring ambition of Philip, are all urged in this address with full force; past events recalled to view, and late instances of

Philip's

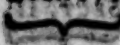
PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

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Philip's conduct represented with all possible aggravations; and every thing urged that could inspire his hearers with indignation, vigilance, and suspicion. He concludes with advising them to dispatch ambassadors into all parts, to raise up enemies against the dangerous Macedonian, and even to enter into an alliance with the king of Persia against this common enemy; to reinforce their army in the Chersonesus, and to make every provision which might convince the Greeks that they were duly sensible of their danger, and resolved to exert themselves in a manner worthy of their dignity, at the same time that they applied to others for their concurrence. "I do not mean," saith he, "that we should endeavour to raise a spirit abroad, which we ourselves are unwilling to assume. It would be absurd to neglect our own interests, and yet pretend a regard to the common cause; or, while we are insensible to present dangers, to think of alarming others with apprehensions of futurity. No, let us provide the forces in the Chersonesus with money, and every thing else that they desire. Let us begin with vigour on our part, then call upon the other Greeks: convene, instruct, exhort them. Thus it becomes a state of such dignity as ours. If you think the protection of Greece may be intrusted to the Chalcedians" and

Sect. II.

Dem. Phil.
3. Sect. 15.



1147. 109.
11. 102. 2

Olymp. 109.
Y. 4.
Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 74.


“and Megareans, and so desert its cause, you
“do not think justly. It will be well if they
“can protect themselves. No, this is your pro-
“vince; this is that prerogative transmitted
“from your ancestors, the reward of all their
“many, and glorious, and great dangers.”

He was heard with favour and applause; and, in a short time after, succours were sent into Euboea, to secure the attachment of that island, and to bear down the partisans of Macedon. The command of these was wisely intrusted to Phocion, whose merit and abilities determined them to apply to him, as their most effectual resource in cases of importance, when their minds were not blinded by the partial representations of corrupted orators, and whose former conduct made him particularly revered by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies of his country, in that island to which he was now dispatched.

AND now, while Phocion marched into Euboea, Demosthenes was employed with no less diligence, as a statesman, in opposing the Macedonian interest in that island. By his negotiations and intrigues he engaged many of the Euboean cities to desert from the Macedonian. Philip's garrisons were expelled from some; others

others shut their gates against them. The Athenian party became every where predominant, and, in the principal places, was openly espoused. Thus the arms of Phocion had scarce any difficulties to encounter: nor had this general an opportunity of displaying his conduct and resolution, but with ease drove out Philistides from Oreum. Nor was Clitarchus suffered to continue any longer in Eretria, although he had shewed some dispositions for entering into engagements with Athens, and had, as well as Philistides, appeared in that city with overtures for an accommodation. But this cautious general suspected his sincerity or steadiness, and now treated him as an enemy. With the rest of the Macedonian adherents he was obliged to quit the island; and all Euboea, now freed from the Macedonian power, exulted in this revolution, and cheerfully returned to its attachment with Athens.

SECT. II.

Demost. 
Corona,
sect. 25.

Diod. ut
supra.

THE greatest share of this success Demosthenes assumes to himself, as the effect of his remonstrances and negotiations. But his rival orator hath preserved a remarkable anecdote, which, if true, doth no great honour to his disinterestedness and nobleness of mind. The people of Oreum, when they applied to Athens for assistance, are said to have purchased the services

Æschin. in
Ctesiph.
sect. 35.

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vices of Demosthenes, by engaging to pay him a talent, if, by his interest, they could obtain effectual succours. The condition was now performed, and this private stipulation to be made good. But the efforts of the people of Oreum to shake off the Macedonian yoke had entirely exhausted their finances, and left their state impoverished and distressed. They therefore found themselves obliged to apply to Demosthenes, and to intreat, that he would remit this their debt; and, in lieu of it, they promised to do him all the honour in their power, to erect a statue of brass in Oreum to him, their benefactor and deliverer. But Demosthenes had a much greater regard to solid gain than any empty honour which they could confer upon him. He received their proposal with disdain, and told them he had no sort of occasion for their piece of brass: that Callias was security for the talent, and from Callias he would demand it. Thus distressed, the citizens of Oreum were obliged to mortgage their public revenues to Demosthenes as a security for the money, and paid him interest at the rate of a drachma per month for each mina, until they were enabled to discharge the principal [E].

But,

[E] A drachma, according to Arbuthnot, is equal to 7 d. 1. a mina, to 3 l. 4 s. 7 d. and sixty minae made a talent;

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BUT, by whatever motives the conduct of Demosthenes might have been actuated on this occasion, at Athens it was received with all possible honours and applause: and, shortly after the success in Euboea, the following decree was made as an attestation and reward of his merit:

Sacr. II.

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
26.

“ IN the archonship of Chaerondas, the son
“ of Hegemon, on the twenty-fifth day of the
“ month Gamellion, the Leontidian tribe then
“ presiding, at the motion of Aristonicus, the
“ following resolution was made:

“ WHEREAS Demosthenes, the son of Demo-
“ sthenes of the Paeanian tribe, hath, at many
“ times, done various and eminent services to
“ the community of Athens, and to many
“ of our confederates: and, at this time, hath,
“ by his counsels, secured the interests of the
“ state, and particularly restored the liberties
“ of certain cities in Euboea: as he hath ever
“ uniformly persevered in an unalterable affec-
“ tion to the state of Athens, and both by words
“ and actions exerted himself, to the utmost of his
“ power, in the service of the Athenians, and
“ the other Greeks;—It is enacted by the se-

lent; 193 l. 15 s. So that the interest which Demosthenes received was 1 l. 18 s. 9 d. per month, which is at the rate of 12 l. 0 s. 6 d. per cent. per ann.

“ nate

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“nate and the popular assembly, that public
 “honours shall be paid to the aforesaid De-
 “mosthenes; that he shall be crowned with a
 “golden crown; that this crown shall be pub-
 “lickly proclaimed in the theatre on the feast of
 “Bacchus, at the time of the performance of
 “the new tragedies; and that the care of thus
 “proclaiming these honours shall be committed
 “to the presiding tribe, and the director of the
 “public entertainments. This is the motion
 “of Aristonicus of the Phrearian tribe.”

PHILIP's great designs did not permit him to prevent the success of these attempts of Athens in Euboea. He had established his interest there, rather by intrigue than by direct force. In sending in his troops, he pretended to act from motives of tenderness to the distresses of the several states, and a generous regard to their security. In modelling their governments he professed only an attention to their tranquillity; and, while he aggrandized his own creatures, and established his own influence and authority, he affected to appear wholly solicitous to support their lawful magistrates against faction and sedition. He therefore might have thought it still necessary to dissemble, and not openly and violently to oppose the disposition of the Euboeans, who now seemed generally inclined to return.

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return to their old connexions with Athens. By suffering this state to exert some force successfully against his friends and garrisons, he loaded them with the odium of breach of faith, and disregard to treaties, and gave any hostilities, which he might hereafter find convenient to his schemes, the appearance of defence, or of warrantable revenge and reprizals. For these reasons he seems to have permitted the Athenians to exult in this their recovery of Euboea, as the effect of superior policy and vigour : and, in the mean time, made the most effectual preparations for damping all their joy and exultation in their late success. For this purpose, having collected an army of thirty thousand men, and made all the preparations which the importance of his design required, he marched directly to invest Perinthus, under the pretence that its inhabitants held intelligence with the Athenian settlements in the Chersonesus, and contributed to the distress of his allies the Cardians. This city was very considerable both by its situation, which was remarkably strong, and by the commerce which was there carried on in great extent. It had ever been in that strict alliance with Athens, which the mutual interest of these two cities made absolutely necessary. Attica was supplied by Perinthus with a considerable part of its corn and necessary provisions,

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 74.
Oliv. l. 12.
p. 216.

Vol. II.

S

and

Book IV.

Diod. ut
supra.

and Perinthus was every year enriched with large sums of money, which this commerce drew from Attica. So that Philip must have considered the possession of this city as an accession of power in itself highly important, and such an accession as must distress and wound his great rivals in the tenderest part. He brought all the most formidable engines and preparations for a siege, up to the walls of Perinthus; and fully shewed his resolution of commencing the operations of the siege with all imaginable vigour, and with every circumstance of terrour, and every instrument of destruction, which might drive the inhabitants to a submission. But he here found an enemy worthy of his resolution. The Perinthians defended themselves, not with the momentary ardour of men as yet unexperienced in dangers and fatigue, but with a steady settled courage, which it appeared could not be abated by all the hardships and labours of a siege, carried on by a formidable enemy, who seemed determined on their destruction.

Ibid.

PHILIP began with raising towers of a height sufficient to command the walls of Perinthus; from whence he poured into the town such vast quantities of missive weapons, as soon dislodged the besieged, and obliged them to remove to some distance. His battering rams were at the
same

same time employed against the walls; his miners were busy at their foundations; and all the force of arms, of fire, and of labour, was exerted to gain the town. By these means, a considerable breach was quickly made in the walls, and the besiegers encouraged by the prospect of a speedy conquest. But they were now mortified by new and unsuspected opposition. The Perinthians presented themselves in array of battle on the ruins of their fortifications; and a second wall now appeared to stop the progress of the enemy, which had been raised by the citizens to a sufficient height for covering their workmen, and securing their retreat.

THE Byzantines, sensible of the extremities to which the people of Perinthus were reduced, and justly conceiving their own interest and safety concerned in the defence of this town, sent in great quantities of defensive and offensive weapons: and the Perinthians, encouraged by these supplies, redoubled their efforts, and confirmed themselves in the resolution of dying in the defence of their country.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
74.

PHILIP, on his part, pushed on the siege with unrelenting vigour. The besieged were quickly obliged to retire behind the new walls, and whoever ventured to appear at any of the open-

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ings, were the sure marks of the Macedonian archers and slingers. In order to prevent all succours from being sent into the town, Philip constantly detached large parties to scour all the adjacent district, reserving only such numbers with himself as were sufficient to push on the attack, which was carried on, without respite or relaxation, both by day and night. In order to restore their communication with their friends without the walls, the besieged made several sallies, but were ever repulsed with considerable loss. At length, covered with wounds, worn out, and ready to sink under incessant toils, almost entirely exhausted of their provisions and supplies, they were now on the point of surrendering, or of seeing their city taken by assault, and exposed to the fury of an enemy exasperated by opposition, when unexpected relief appeared to animate their drooping courage, and to raise new difficulties to their besiegers.

Diod. Sic. I.
26, sect. 75.

REPEATED accounts of Philip's power, and alarming reports of the future schemes and designs of his ambition, were constantly received at the court of Persia. They who spread these reports, imagined that they shewed their zeal, by representing the subject of their fears with all circumstances of aggravation; and even the distance contributed to magnify the danger.

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His attack of Perinthus was particularly represented as a dreadful instance of the vastness of his designs, and his resolution in executing them. Ochus was so affected by these reports, that he conceived his very safety demanded him to take some measures for opposing Philip's progress. He therefore sent directions to his satraps, whose governments were adjacent to the coast, to exert themselves for the preservation of Perinthus, and to use all the means in their power for preventing this city from falling into the hands of the Macedonian. Mentor, the Rhodian, a faithful subject of Persia, and a general of eminent abilities, had some time since performed a considerable service to his master, and deprived the Macedonian of many advantages, by making himself master of the person of Hermias, the satrap of Atarna, an intimate friend of Aristotle, who had deserted the service of his master, maintained an avowed rebellion against Ochus, professed himself a zealous partisan of Philip, and was in strict intimacy and confidence with him, an assistant in many of his enterprises, and the partner in all his counsels. For this purpose, Mentor was obliged to have recourse to artifice. He gave Hermias assurances, that he had made his peace with the king of Persia, so that he might now, without any apprehensions, return to his allegiance. Hermias was

Sect. II.

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 52.

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effectually deceived, and rashly ventured to come to an interview with Mentor, where he was instantly made a prisoner. His seal was found about him, and enabled Mentor to counterfeit letters, which were sent, as from Hermias, to the governors of the several towns dependent on this satrap, and contained directions to deliver up these towns to the king of Persia. The orders were executed without any suspicion of the deceit; and, having thus removed this powerful obstacle, Mentor could, with greater ease, obstruct the progress of Philip's arms. The satrap of Phrygia, who was particularly entrusted with this commission, found means to deceive the vigilance of this prince, and to throw into Perinthus vast quantities of provisions and military stores, with a powerful reinforcement of troops, paid by Persia, and commanded by officers sent for that purpose from Byzantium. Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens, as * Pausanias informs us, had the chief command. This state, if we may depend on the assertions of Philip in his famous letter, had actually sent its deputies into Asia, to rouse the Persian to a sense of the danger to be apprehended from the arms of Macedon: while the emissaries of Persia were as industrious, on their part, to prevail on the popular leaders to exert themselves, in order to animate the

Pausan. in
Attic. p.
28.
Diod. Sic. l.
36. sect. 52.

* In loc. cit.

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the zeal of the Athenians. Demosthenes himself is said to have received such presents from the great king, as gave his enemies an occasion of depreciating his zeal, as the effect of intrigue and corruption.

Sæc. II.
Plutarch. in
Demosth.

THE Perinthians, encouraged and strengthened by the supplies they had now received, resumed their former ardour: while Philip, who, on his side, promised himself the greater glory from the obstinacy of their defence, was but the more animated to redouble his efforts. With his rams he beat down a considerable part of the new wall which the Perinthians had raised behind the ruins of the outward fortification. In order to encourage his soldiers, he promised them the plunder of the town, besides the extraordinary rewards appropriated to those who should distinguish themselves in the assault. He marched up and attacked the besieged at the several breaches; and, at the same time, in order to divide their strength, obliged his soldiers to scale those parts of the walls which were yet left standing. All these efforts were supported by an infinite quantity of arrows, stones, and other missive weapons poured in from the machines and towers of the besiegers. Thus were the Perinthians, after a resistance almost incredible, at length obliged to abandon their walls, and to

Diod. Sic.
l. 16, sect.
75.

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retire into their town, where, as their last resource, they barricaded all the streets and avenues.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16, sect.
76.

AND now the Macedonians, flushed with their advantage, and confident of success, once more found a new obstacle to encounter, which the situation of the town opposed to them. Perinthus was built upon an isthmus, and on an eminence which ended as it were in a point, and formed a conical figure, so that the houses, built in the manner of an amphitheatre, were so contrived as to support each other. All the motions of the besiegers were distinctly viewed from the eminences; and, if they attacked any of the adjacent quarters, abundance of arrows, and other instruments of death, was at once showered down upon them from the higher and remoter parts. Thus was Philip, after various difficulties and dangers, at length mortified by a full conviction, that it would be impossible to gain the town by assault, without the loss of a considerable part of his army. He therefore determined to change the siege into a blockade; and, taking with him such a number of men as might be sufficient for forming other sieges, he proceeded to attack some cities of the Propontis: he made inroads, and committed ravages, in the territories of Byzantium, but as yet concealed his

Oliv. l. 12.
p. 224.

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his intentions of besieging that city. The Byzantines, however, were duly sensible of their danger; and, in order to oblige him to declare his designs, and to lay them open to the world, they kept close within their walls, even with an affectation of caution and vigilance; while Leon, one of their principal citizens, was dispatched to Athens, in order to engage that state in the defence of Byzantium, and to obtain the necessary succours against the danger immediately impending over a place of such importance.

Sæc. II.

Philostat.
Soph. p.
485.

THE attention of Athens was already engaged to Philip's motions, and its assemblies employed in debating and consulting: for thus far they were ever easily influenced by the appearance of danger. The assistance afforded by Persia to Perinthus, and the representations of the deputies and emissaries of this city, raised new commotions, and disposed the Athenians to contribute, by their efforts, to repel the common danger. The friends of Macedon, on the other hand, repeated all their former arguments, and continued, by all their eloquence and artifice, to recommend tranquillity and security. Aristodemus seems, on this occasion, to have persevered in his attachment to Philip, and to have, with a remarkable zeal, urged every motive that might calm the suspicions, and allay the ferment,

Dem. Phil.

4.

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On this occasion, he once more resumed the consideration of the theatrical money: but his
senti-

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sentiments now appear somewhat of a different kind from those which he formerly professed. These theatrical distributions seem to have been a perpetual occasion of public contests between the several orders of the state. The poor were ever dissatisfied that the richer citizens shared the largesses, which they considered as their own peculiar right; and the rich beheld, with impatience, the dissipation of the public funds, which cast the whole weight of the supplies on them. But there was still a greater cause of complaint. The revenues of the state were not always sufficient to defray the immense expences of feasts and entertainments: and, in this case, some factious leader, who was willing to gain popularity, would propose to tax the rich, or perhaps, by his infamous calumnies, raise a prosecution, which would bring in a large pecuniary fine. The rich, it may be imagined, were alarmed at such proceedings; they inveighed loudly against the authors of them; and sometimes ventured to accuse them in form, and to bring them to a trial. When their baseness and evil designs were publicly exposed, the people were ashamed to avow their intentions of supporting such flagrant injustice; their clamours were loud against the person accused; but as, in all judicial processes, they gave their votes by ballot, they then had an opportunity of saving their friend.

Tourell
Not. Phil.
4. vol. 2.
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THE manner in which Demosthenes treats this subject may not be unworthy of observation:

“ THERE is another affair, wherein the public
 “ hath been injured, which hath been attacked
 “ most unjustly and indecently; which is the
 “ constant pretence of those who refuse to per-
 “ form their duty to the state; to which you
 “ will find the blame of every omission, which
 “ every man is guilty of, constantly transferred.
 “ I cannot speak of it without great apprehen-
 “ sions: yet I will speak: for I think I can
 “ serve my country, by advancing some things,
 “ both in behalf of the poor against the rich,
 “ and of the rich against the necessitous: if we
 “ first banish those invectives unjustly thrown out
 “ against the theatrical funds; and those fears,
 “ that such an appointment cannot subsist with-
 “ out some dismal consequences; an appointment
 “ which, above all others, may be most condu-
 “ cive to our interest, and give the greatest
 “ strength to the whole community.

“ ATTEND then, while I first plead for those
 “ who are thought necessitous. There was a
 “ time, not long since, when the state could not
 “ raise more than one hundred and thirty ta-
 “ lents; and yet none of those who were to
 “ command, or to contribute to the equipment
 “ of

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" of a galley, ever had recourse to the pretence
 " of poverty to be exempted from their duty :
 " but vessels were sent out, money was supplied,
 " and none of our affairs neglected. After this,
 " (thanks to Fortune !) our revenues were con-
 " siderably improved ; and, instead of one hun-
 " dred, rose to four hundred talents ; and this
 " without any loss to the wealthy citizens, but
 " rather with advantage ; for they share the
 " public affluence, and justly share it. Why
 " then do we reproach each other ? Why have
 " we recourse to such pretences to be exempted
 " from our duty, unless we envy the poor that
 " supply with which Fortune hath favoured
 " them ? I do not, and I think no one should
 " blame them. For, in private families, I do
 " not find the young so devoid of respect to years,
 " or indeed any one so unreasonable and absurd,
 " as to refuse to do his duty, unless all others do
 " quite as much : such perverseness would ren-
 " der a man obnoxious to the laws against un-
 " dutiful children. For to nothing are we more
 " inviolably bound, than to a just and cheerful
 " discharge of that debt, in which both nature
 " and the laws engage us to our parents. And
 " as we, each of us, have our particular parents,
 " so all our citizens are to be esteemed the com-
 " mon parents of the state ; and therefore, in-
 " stead of depriving them of what the state be-
 " stows,

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“flows, we ought, if there was not this pro-
 “vision, to find out some other means of supply-
 “ing their necessities. If the rich proceed upon
 “these principles, they will act agreeably not to
 “justice only, but to good policy: for, to rob
 “some men of their necessary subsistence, is to
 “raise a number of enemies to the common
 “wealth.

“To men of lower fortunes I give this ad-
 “vice: that they should remove those grievances
 “which the wealthier members so loudly and so
 “justly complain of: (for I now proceed in the
 “manner I proposed, and shall not scruple to
 “offer such truths as may be favourable to the
 “rich.) Look out, not through Athens only,
 “but every other nation; and, in my opinion,
 “you will not find a man of so cruel, so inhuman
 “a disposition, as to complain, when he sees
 “poor men, men who even want the necessaries
 “of life, receiving these appointments. Where
 “then lies the difficulty? Whence this animos-
 “ity? When they behold certain persons charg-
 “ing private fortunes with those demands which
 “were usually answered by the public; when
 “they behold the proposer of this immediately
 “rising in your esteem, and (as far as your pro-
 “tection can make him) immortal; when they
 “find your private votes entirely different from

“ your

“ your public clamours; then it is that their
 “ indignation is raised. For justice requires,
 “ Athenians, that the advantages of society
 “ should be shared by all its members. The
 “ rich should have their lives and fortunes well
 “ secured, that so, when any danger threatens
 “ their country, their opulence may be applied
 “ to its defence. Other citizens should regard
 “ the public treasure, as it really is, the property
 “ of all; and be content with their just portion;
 “ but should esteem all private fortunes, as the
 “ inviolable right of their possessors. Thus it
 “ is a small state rises to greatness; a great one
 “ preserves its power.”

It cannot but be observed, that all here said
 in defence of the theatrical appointments, is ex-
 pressed with a caution and reserve quite opposite
 to his usual openness and freedom; and which
 plainly betrays a consciousness of being inconsis-
 tent with his former sentiments. How far he
 may be excused by the supposed necessity of
 yielding to the violent prepossessions of the peo-
 ple, and giving up a favourite point, I cannot
 pretend to determine. But it is certainly not
 very honourable to Demosthenes to suppose (with
 Ulpian *) that his former opposition was merely
 personal; and that the death of Eubulus now
 put an end to it.

* Enarrat.
 in Phil. 4.

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THE sum of his advice, on the present emergency, is this, that they should observe the manner in which Philip was endeavouring to distress them, and imitate it in their opposition; that they should make all possible preparations to defend themselves, and annoy the enemy; that they should send effectual and speedy supplies to those who were now engaged with him; and that they should enter into an immediate alliance with the king of Persia, a measure which (either actuated by private or by public-spirited motives) he represents as of the utmost importance, particularly as it would enable them to gain a large supply of money. He hints (as is supposed) at the seizing of Hermias, from whom the king of Persia could now extort a full confession of the designs which Philip meditated against Asia, so as to receive the most unsuspected proof of the danger to be apprehended from the Macedonian. Through the whole address he inveighs, with great severity, against corrupted leaders and orators who had sold themselves to the enemy of their country: and, towards the conclusion, particularly attacks Aristodemus in a spirited apostrophè.

THE oration is thus emphatically closed:
 “You have now heard truths of the highest
 “moment, urged with all freedom, simplicity,
 “and

“and zeal. You have heard a speech not filled
 “with flattery, danger, and deceit, calculated to
 “bring gold to the speaker, and to reduce the
 “state into the power of its enemies: it remains,
 “therefore, that the whole tenour of your con-
 “duct be reformed. If not, that utter deso-
 “lation, which will be found in your affairs,
 “must be imputed wholly to yourselves.”

Stev. II.

THE strength and energy of Demosthenes were not entirely ineffectual. The Athenians came immediately to a resolution of dispatching succours to those towns which were attacked by Philip, and instantly began to execute their intentions by sending to the Hellespont a fleet laden with provisions. This fleet anchored in view of Selymbria, a city of the Propontis, in alliance with Athens, and now actually besieged by Philip. The commander seems to have supposed that the treaty, which still formally subsisted between Athens and Macedon, would protect him from all hostilities; but in this he was deceived; for his fleet was instantly surrounded and seized by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon. The lading was examined, and found to consist entirely of corn, which Leodamas, the commanding officer, insisted had been purchased at the Hellespont, and was intended to be sent to Lemnos. This pre-

Dem. de
 Coron. sect.
 23.

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tence was not sufficiently spacious to deceive the penetration of Philip. There could be but little doubt of the real destination of this fleet: the distress of the Selymbrians, and the late resolution of the Athenians, were well known: Philip therefore detained these ships, as carrying provisions to his enemies.

THE intelligence of this event renewed the agitation of the Athenians, and once more afforded a subject of warm debate to their assembly. The following decrees, made on this occasion, are preserved by * Demosthenes, who represents this action as the first open and avowed declaration of hostilities on the part of Philip:

* In loc.
cit.

“ IN the archonship of Neocles, an assembly
“ extraordinary being convened by the generals
“ in the month Boedromion, Eubulus, the son
“ of Mnesitheus, of the Cyprian tribe, proposed
“ the following resolution:

“ WHEREAS the generals have reported to the
“ assembly, that Leodamas our admiral, toge-
“ ther with twenty ships sent under his command
“ to import corn from the Hellespont, have
“ been taken and brought into Macedon, by
“ Amyntas, a commander in the service of king
“ Philip: RESOLVED, that it shall be the care
“ of

“ of the prytanes and generals; that the senate be
 “ convened, and ambassadors chosen, who shall
 “ repair to Philip, and demand the dismissal of
 “ the admiral, the vessels, and the soldiers; that
 “ they be instructed to declare, that, if Amyntas
 “ hath in this acted through ignorance, the com-
 “ munity of Athens hath no complaints to urge
 “ against him; that, if their officer hath any-
 “ wise exceeded his commission, they are ready
 “ to take cognizance of his offence, and to
 “ punish him as his inadvertence may have me-
 “ rited : but if neither of these be the case, but
 “ that this outrage be the sole act either of the
 “ person who gave or who received the com-
 “ mission, that the ambassadors shall demand an
 “ explicit declaration, and report the same, that
 “ the people of Athens may determine on such
 “ measures as may be proper for them to pursue.”

SECT. II.

THE ambassadors were accordingly named, by
 virtue of the following decree :

Dem. de
 Coron. sect.
 23.

“ IN the archonship of Neocles, on the last
 “ day of the month Boedromion, by a resolution
 “ of the senate,

“ THE prytanes and generals having reported
 “ the determination of the general assembly, that
 “ ambassadors be sent to Philip to demand the

Book IV. "restoration of the ships, and that the said am-
 "bassadors be furnished with particular instruc-
 "tions, and with a copy of the decrees of the
 "assembly.

"THE persons, chosen to be entrusted with
 "this commission, are Cephisophon, Democritus,
 "and Polycratius. Aristophon, the Cothocydan,
 "moved for this resolution, in the presidency of
 "the tribe Hippothoentis."

Dem. de
 Coron. sect.
 23.

THUS commissioned and instructed, these am-
 bassadors repaired to Philip, whom they now
 found at the Hellespont. Although this prince
 could not but see through the fallacy of the alle-
 gations relative to the destination of the Athenian
 ships, yet it was at present necessary to avoid an
 open rupture with that state, and to appear to
 Greece as acting with extraordinary candour and
 moderation. He therefore ordered that the vessels
 should be released; and dismissed the Athenian
 deputies with the following letter addressed to
 their state:

Ibid.

"PHILIP king of Macedon, to the senate
 "and people of Athens, health.

"I HAVE received three of your citizens in
 "quality of ambassadors, who have conferred
 "with me about the dismissal of certain ships
 "which Leodamas commanded. I cannot but
 "consider

“consider it as an extraordinary instance of SECT. II.
“weakness, to imagine, that I can possibly be-
“lieve that these ships were really intended to
“import corn, from the Hellespont, for Lem-
“nos, and that they were not really sent for
“the relief of the Selymbrians, who are now
“besieged by me, and who are by no means
“included in that treaty of pacification, by
“which we stand mutually engaged. These
“were the orders which your officer received,
“not from the people of Athens, but from cer-
“tain magistrates, and others now in private
“stations, who are by all means solicitous to
“engage the people to violate their engage-
“ments, and to commence hostilities against
“me. This they have much more at heart
“than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining
“that they may derive advantages from such a
“rupture. Persuaded as I am, that our mu-
“tual interest requires us to frustrate their
“wicked schemes, I have given orders that the
“vessels brought in to us shall be immediately
“released: and, for the future, do you re-
“move those pernicious counsellors from the
“administration of your affairs, and let them
“feel the severity of your justice: I shall, on
“my part, endeavour to adhere inviolably to my
“treaty. Farewell.

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THE receipt of this letter raised new commotions in the assembly, and afforded the several parties, and popular leaders, new subject for opposition and debate. In the mean time, Leon, the Byzantine ambassador, continued at Athens, without an opportunity of executing his commission. He had from time to time solicited an audience, but still found difficulties and delays. The assistance offered by the Byzantines, to the revolted allies of Athens in the social war, was still remembered, and mentioned with resentment; and the partisans of Philip took pains to dwell invidiously on this subject. At length, however, he obtained permission to address himself to an assembly, and for that purpose appeared in the gallery where the public speakers were usually stationed to harangue the people. His person was by no means of that kind which commands immediate respect. His stature was low; his legs remarkably short; and his belly round and prominent. At sight of this extraordinary figure, the people, who were of all men most passionately fond of ridicule, who could readily find out, or even create, something ludicrous in every object, forgot the respect due to his character, and instantly burst into loud and tumultuous peals of laughter. Leon was not in the least disconcerted. As soon as he could gain attention, "Men of Athens," said

Philostat.
Soph. p.
485.

said he, "you laugh at my person. You would Socr. II.
" laugh much more, were you to see my wife."

"She is still less than I am; and yet, when we
" disagree, the whole city of Byzantium is too
" small to hold us." [c] The Athenians,
charmed with this presence of mind, with which
he recalled them to the business of their meet-
ing, and presented to their view the danger of
those divisions which had long been one great
cause of all their difficulties, changed their con-
tempt into applause, and gave him the most
favourable attention. In an eloquent, forcible,
and natural discourse, he convinced them of
the great importance of a vigorous opposition
to the aspiring and enterprising king of Mace-
don; and of uniting their forces with those of
Byzantium, which might enable them to check
the progress of his arms. Convinced by his
reasons, and influenced by his address, the people
instantly decreed that a powerful fleet should be
equipped, and sent to the Hellespont. Their
force, if properly conducted, might have proved
an effectual obstacle to the designs of Philip;
but unhappily the command was intrusted to

Plot. in
Phoc.

[c] We have a similar account in Athenaeus, (l. 12. p. 550.) of Python's suppressing a sedition at Byzantium, by observing to the people that his wife was more corpulent than himself, and that yet, when they agreed, one little bed was sufficient for them, &c.

BOOK IV.

Chares. His person and address promised enterprise and courage. His interest in the assembly was still powerful. He had orators and popular leaders in his pay. And thus corruption and intrigue defeated the most vigorous and best concerted measures of this misguided people.

BOOK IV. SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

CHARES sets sail.—His conduct.—The Byzantines shut their gates against him.—His engagement with Amyntas.—Byzantium besieged.—Philip attempts to surprise the town.—Is unsuccessful.—The relief of Byzantium intrusted to Phocion.—He is received with joy.—Philip determined to raise the siege.—From what motives.—His transactions with the king of Scythia.—His interview with Leon.—Reasons for his engaging in the Scythian expedition.—Actions of Phocion.—He returns to Athens.—Decrees of the Byzantines, Perinthians, and Chersonesites.—Observations of Demosthenes.—Philip's letter to the Athenians.—The oration of Demosthenes ON THE LETTER.—Its effect.—Sentiments of Phocion.—His expedition to Megara.—Antipho's plot discovered by Demosthenes.—He first escapes from justice.—He is afterwards forced to confess, and punished.—The Athenians disposed to warlike measures.—The oration of Demosthenes on regulating the commonwealth.—The famous law of Eubulus repealed.

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repealed.—Alexander reduces the Madareans.—
Builds Alexandropolis.—Philip's message to the
king of Scythia.—The answer.—Battle with the
Scythians.—The Triballi oppose Philip's return.—
His imminent danger.—Is rescued by Alexander.
—The prince's observation on his father's
wound.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

SECTION III.

CHARES now sailed from the Piræus, more intent on gratifying his avarice and luxury, than on executing the important commission which his country had imprudently assigned to such a general. The towns by which he sailed, refused to admit him into their ports, so universally were his vices and inabilities the objects of terrour and scorn. He was thus obliged to wander for some time along the coast, oppressing the allies and dependent states of Athens by his severe exactions; while the enemy despised him, and, from his conduct, derived the most favourable expectations of success. At length, this general appeared before Byzantium. But here, as in other places, he was treated with ignominy; and the Byzantines absolutely refused to open their gates to a man, from whom they had no expectations of any effectual assistance, and whose conduct would probably aggravate their distress, and increase their difficulties.

STUNG

BOOK IV.
SECT. III.

Olymp.
110. Y. I.

Plut. in
Phocion.

Book IV.

Oliv. l. 13.

p. 238.

Hefychius

de Sign. Orb.

STUNG with this disgrace, and determined, by some bold exploit, to convince the Byzantines of their mistake, he bore down on the Macedonian fleet, which lay at anchor before Chalcedon, where the Byzantines commanded, and, by permission of the king of Persia, maintained a garrison. But Amyntas, Philip's admiral, prevented his attack. He came out to meet him, fell furiously upon his fleet, sunk several of his ships, and took others. Damalis, the wife of Chares, followed him in this expedition, and died during the engagement. She was interred on the coast of Asia, to which the shattered remains of the Athenian fleet retired, and where her epitaph was extant under the later Greek emperours.

Oliv. l. 13.

p. 239.

THIS defeat confirmed the suspicions which had been entertained of Chares, and encouraged Philip to avow his designs against Byzantium, and to commence hostilities against this important town. It was, by its situation, remarkably strong. On three sides the sea rendered it inaccessible; on the fourth, by which only it could be attacked, it was strongly defended by a large and deep trench, with towers raised to a considerable height, and at a small interval from each other; in each of which, besides the usual guards, there was a mastiff kept at the public charge:

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charge: a precaution usual in all the Grecian cities, to secure them against surprises and nocturnal attacks. The inhabitants were well supplied with provisions and other necessaries. Chios and Rhodes, in consequence of ancient friendship and treaties which still subsisted, had thrown in considerable succours; so that, when Philip began the siege by his battering engines, the Byzantines trusted entirely to the goodness of their walls, and the condition of their town; and, without making any sallies, suffered the besiegers to carry on their works without interruption. Philip determined to take advantage of this inaction, and, if possible, to become master of the town by surprise. He affected an obstinate resolution of making a breach in the walls, and of proceeding by assault, while, in the mean time, he made all possible dispositions for the execution of his real design. For this, he chose out a night remarkably dark and gloomy; and ordered a large party of the bravest and most enterprising of his Macedonians to scale the walls. They had already crossed the trench and fixed their ladders; and some of them had even mounted the walls, when this bold project was at once defeated by the mastiffs that were shut up within the towers: their barkings and bayings roused the centinels, and informed them of the enemy's approach. The whole

Sic. III.

Diod. Sic. l. 16. sect. 77.

Oliv. l. 9. p. 240.

ibid.

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Tourr.
Rem. sur
Dém. pour
Ctes. p.
529.

whole town was instantly in arms, though no man knew from what quarter the danger was to be apprehended; and in this universal confusion, considerably increased by the darkness, they imagined that the besiegers were already masters of the town, and the several parties, which now issued out tumultuously from their respective stations, were just on the point of falling blindly on each other: when, on a sudden a bright meteor appeared in the air, and enabled them to distinguish their friends, to collect their forces, and to march in some order against the enemy, who had by this time gained the rampart. The Macedonians were, with much difficulty, repulsed; and retired with all the honour which a brave, though unsuccessful enterprise, could reflect upon them.

Ibid.

THE meteor, which had appeared so opportunely to direct their motions, the Byzantines ascribed to the peculiar favour of the gods: and, in the ardour of their acknowledgments, dedicated a statue to Hecatè, before which a lamp was kept burning continually by night and day, to express their gratitude to the goddess, who had been pleased, in so effectual and seasonable a manner, to supply the absence of her luminary.

WHEN

PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

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WHEN this stratagem was thus defeated, Philip determined to rely entirely on the valour of his men, and continued the operations of the siege, with the same indefatigable diligence and vigour with which they had been first commenced [A].

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DURING these transactions, accounts were received at Athens, that Chares had been denied admittance into Byzantium. This the partisans of Macedon took care to represent as

Plut. in
Vit. Phocion.

[A] WHILE Philip was employed in this siege, he is said by the abbreviator of Trogus (L. 9. c. 1.) to have raised considerable sums of money by piracy; and, by the capture of one hundred and seventy ships, to have restored the declining state of his finances. Plutarch also (de Fort. Alex. Orat. 1. p. 327.) asserts, on the authority of Onesicritus, an ancient author, that Philip was at this time two hundred talents in debt. We have likewise an account, in Polyænus, (l. 4. c. 2. str. 2.) of a mutiny in his army, occasioned by the want of pay; which must have been about this time. The soldiers crowded round the king, at a time when he was engaged in some gymnastic exercises, and clamoured loudly for their money. "Right!" said Philip, "my brave fellow-soldiers! money you must have;—and, for this purpose, you see me strengthening my body, in order to march against the Persian, who hath riches to satisfy you all."—He then rushed through the midst of them, plunged into an adjacent pool, and there continued bathing, till the soldiers, who waited till the king should conclude his exercises, and be at leisure to answer their demands, by degrees forgot their complaints, grew quiet, and dispersed.

the

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the natural consequence of the misguided zeal of their countrymen, and a proof of the justness and integrity of their counsels, who had recommended pacific measures. "We have officiously sent our fleets," said they, "to join with those who are really the enemies of Athens, and as enemies they have treated us: we have discovered our hostile intentions against Philip, which have only served to inflame his just resentment, while we are disgracefully precluded from giving any opposition to his designs." Error, misrepresentation, clamour, and division, prevailed as usual in the assembly of the people, who were entirely at a loss where to fix the blame of their disappointment, and how to remedy the inconveniencies of it: when Phocion, their experienced and faithful citizen, arose, and at once put an end to the confusion. "At this time my countrymen," said he, "the measures which you have taken for the preservation of your allies, and for repelling the common danger, were by no means unworthy of your dignity. On the other hand, the suspicions of our allies are but too well founded. Let us not condemn that diffidence which the conduct of our leader hath justly raised in every city which our fleets have visited. It is to Chares, and to his rapacious and insatiable cruelty, which

“ which have rendered him the terrour and de-
 “ testation of our allies; to his weakness and
 “ misconduct, which have rendered him the scorn
 “ and sport of all our enemies, that we must
 “ impute the insult on our state. He it is who
 “ hath made us suspected and dreaded, even
 “ by those who cannot possibly subsist without
 “ our succours.”

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STRUCK with the force and candour of this declaration, the people at once resolved on a new armament, and instantly nominated Phocion himself to the command, wisely intrusting to their brave old general the important charge of relieving Byzantium. He accepted the command, and, having raised his levies, set sail for that city. At his arrival, he gave every assurance of his just and kind intentions; and, to allay all suspicions and distrust, all fears of oppression and irregularity, proposed to encamp without the walls. But his illustrious reputation had already secured him all the honour and confidence which his virtues merited; Leon had inspired the Byzantines with the most favourable sentiments of his old friend and fellow-student; and offered to be himself responsible for the sincerity and integrity of his conduct. Their gates were therefore opened to Phocion, as to their protector and deliverer; his forces were

Plut. in
 Vit. Pho-
 cion.

Book IV.

entertained with all the tenderness and regard which friendship could inspire; and they, by an exact regularity of conduct and discipline, and a strict and diligent attention to the defence of the town, confirmed and rewarded the Byzantines: who were now taught to revere their inoffensive behaviour towards the citizens, and the intrepidity with which they sustained the assaults of the enemy.

PHILIP was justly alarmed at this powerful reinforcement; all his artifice, all his resolution, and all the efforts of a brave and numerous army, had been exerted, for a considerable time, without effect. He therefore became sensible of the difficulties which he encountered, and despaired of the success of his daring enterprize. An event, which now occurs to be explained, confirmed him in his resolution of raising the siege, and, at the same time, removed all appearance of necessity or disgrace.

Just. l. 9.
c. 2.

AT the time when Philip marched to lay siege to Perinthus, he was met at Apollonia by certain persons who assumed the character of ambassadors from Atheas king of Scythia; and, as commissioned by him, implored the assistance of Macedon against the king of the Istrians, who had made a formidable inroad into Scythia, and

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and thus infested and distressed the dominions of their master. These ambassadors, the more effectually to engage the assistance of Philip against an enemy, who by this time seems to have reduced their country to the utmost extremity, promised, in the name of their master, to secure to Philip the succession to his kingdom, if, by his arms, Atheas was rescued from the present danger. The proposal was highly agreeable to the ambition of Philip. He instantly ordered a body of forces to march to the assistance of Scythia, and promised to follow them in person, as soon as his affairs should permit him. The death of the king of the Istrians, which happened in the course of these transactions, relieved Atheas from his difficulties, and rendered the interposition of Macedon unnecessary. And now the king of Scythia disavowed all the propositions made by those who called themselves his ambassadors. He declared, that it was not at all probable that he had desired the assistance of the Macedonians, who were only able to engage with men, while he himself was at the head of an army which could combat with cold and famine: nor could he think of appointing Philip his successor, when he had a son capable of inheriting his crown and dignity. Philip then sent to desire that he would at least gratify the forces which he had detached

Book IV.

Plur. in
Apophth.Just. ut
supra.

to his relief, by granting them their pay. His ambassadors, at their arrival in Scythia, found the king in his stable, employed in the care of his horse. When they expressed their surprise, he asked them whether their master did not employ himself in the same manner. "For my part," said he, "in time of peace, I make no sort of difference between me and my groom." When they came to open their commission, and talk of business, he coldly told them, that all Scythia could not command so much wealth as might gratify such a potentate as Philip, and that he deemed it more eligible to offer nothing, than to make an offer unworthy of their master; that the barren soil and severe climate of Scythia, rendered the inhabitants more distinguished by their extraordinary vigour and bravery, than by their riches.

Philostratus,
l. 2. p. 485.

THIS answer was now reported to the king of Macedon when harassed by the obstinate defence of the Byzantines, and gave him a fair pretence of abandoning his present enterprise, and marching against Atheas. And now, resolved to quit the siege of Byzantium, but at the same time to retire with a good grace, he demanded an interview with Leon, who commanded in the town. A cessation of arms ensued; Leon appeared before Philip, and, with that

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that boldness which a free government inspires, desired to know for what reason the king of Macedon thus attacked a town which had never given him the least umbrage. Philip answered ingenuously, that the situation of Byzantium rendered the possession of it necessary to his designs; that he considered the city as a mistress whom he had long wooed and courted, and had at length determined to force to a compliance. "Alas! sir," replied Leon, pointing to the machines which were raised against the town, "it is not thus that lovers address themselves to their mistresses: these are not the entertainments which they provide for them." Philip assured him that the operations of the siege should immediately cease; and, having directed him to declare to the Byzantines, that the general good of Greece was the sole end of all his actions, he raised the siege, and prepared for an expedition into Scythia.

BESIDES those motives of honour and revenge, which invited Philip into Scythia, he had other political reasons to determine him to carry his arms into that country. His great design was to humble the Athenians; but it was by no means a favourable opportunity for declaring war against them, when he had been foiled in two grand undertakings, and obliged to raise

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF

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two different sieges, so as to fully the glory of his arms, and to re-animate the courage of his enemies. In advancing therefore to Scythia, where he had no doubt but that his arms would be victorious, he justly thought that he should give the Athenians time to grow calm, and to subside, by degrees, to their usual indolent and inactive state. Their flaming zeal, he knew, was suddenly raised; and, if the appearance of danger was in the least removed, would, of itself, evaporate: by carrying his arms into these distant parts, all Greece would remain in ignorance and suspense as to his real designs, until they came to the very point of execution: and one grand scheme he now seems to have concerted against that whole nation, and particularly against Athens, which will hereafter be explained, and which might be conducted with much more security and success in his absence.

Plut. in
Phocion,

He therefore raised the siege of Byzantium; and Phocion, to whose conduct the preservation of that important place was principally owing, marched out amidst the prayers and acclamations of the inhabitants. He suffered the Macedonians to retire unmolested, without attempting to fall on their rear, or being tempted, by his success, to any of those rash vanities, which might possibly be pardoned in a less renowned and

and experienced general. The quiet and security of the Athenian colonies, and dependent states, were his principal concern. He steered his course towards the Chersonesus, where the friends of Athens were perpetually infested by irruptions from Cardia. In his passage, he took some vessels, which were carrying arms and provisions to the enemy; and being informed that the Macedonians had made an attempt on Sestus, he marched instantly to prevent their designs, and obliged them to retire to Cardia. Several cities of lesser note, which Philip had lately taken, were also recovered by Phocion in this expedition. And, having thus driven Philip from the Hellespont, to spread the terrour of the Athenian arms still further, he made incursions into the territories of this prince, and there raised large contributions, so as to maintain his soldiers at the expence of the enemy, instead of burdening his allies; but, being opposed by some forces which were sent to check his progress, and having received a wound in an engagement, he thought it necessary to content himself with the glory he had already acquired, led his forces back, and embarked for Athens.

Secr. III.

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
27.

Plut. ut
sup.

THESE several expeditions reflected infinite honour both on Phocion and on the Athenians.

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The people, who had been immediately obliged, and who now owed their safety to the valour and conduct of Athens, did not confine themselves to a bare acknowledgment of such signal services, but proceeded to raise solid and authentic monuments of their deliverance and gratitude. The following decree, made on this occasion by the Byzantines and Perinthians, hath been transmitted to us by the great Athenian orator:

Demost. de
Coron. sect.
27.

“BOSPHORICUS being hieromnemon, Demagetus, by permission of the senate, drew up the following resolution:

“WHEREAS the people of Athens have, from the earliest times, persevered in an unalterable affection to the Byzantines, and to their confederates and kinsmen the Perinthians; and have lately, when Philip of Macedon invaded and laid waste their territories with fire and sword, and attacked their cities, done them many and signal services; and, by a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty ships, with provisions, arms, and soldiers, have extricated us from the utmost dangers, restored our ancient constitution, our laws, and the sepulchres of our fathers; it is therefore RESOLVED, by the people of Byzantium and Perinthus, to grant to the Athenians the right
“ of

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“ of intermarriage, the freedom of our states, SECT. III.
 “ the power of purchasing lands, and the first
 “ and most honourable seats in all our public
 “ entertainments, in the tholus, in the senate,
 “ and in the popular assembly. And that what-
 “ ever Athenian shall chuse to reside in our re-
 “ spective cities, shall enjoy a perfect immunity
 “ and exemption from all taxes. And it is fur-
 “ ther resolved, that three statues, sixteen cubits
 “ high, shall be erected in the port of Byzan-
 “ tium, representing the community of Athens
 “ crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians.
 “ And that honorary presents shall be sent to
 “ the several general assemblies of Greece, the
 “ Isthmian, Nemean, Olympic, and Pythian,
 “ where proclamation shall be duly made of
 “ that crown now by us conferred on the people
 “ of Athens; that all Greece may be informed
 “ of the magnanimity of Athens, and the gra-
 “ titude of the Byzantines and Perinthians.”

THE people of the Chersonesus, who had been protected against the attacks of Cardia, and the Macedonian forces stationed in that city, expressed their acknowledgments in the following manner :

Demost. de
Coron. sect.
27.

“ THE Chersonesites, inhabitants of Sestus,
 “ Eleus, Madytus, and Halopoconesus, do
 “ crown

Book IV. "crown the senate and people of Athens with a
 "golden crown of sixty talents. They also con-
 "secrate an altar to Gratitude and the Atheni-
 "ans, on account of the important services con-
 "ferred by this people on the inhabitants of the
 "Chersonesus, in delivering them from the power
 "of Philip, and in restoring their country,
 "their laws, their liberties, and their religion.
 "Of which the Chersonesites will ever retain a
 "just and grateful sense, and be ever ready, to
 "the utmost of their power, to return the im-
 "portant obligation.—Thus it was **RESOLVED**
 "in a full assembly of the senate."

THESE public acts, and the honours thus paid to Athens, were matter of great triumph to the enemies of Macedon, and the leaders who declaimed against Philip. They magnified them as the glorious effect of their counsels and conduct. "The measures I concerted, the conduct
 "I pursued," (saith * Demosthenes, speaking of these transactions,) "not only saved the Cher-
 "sonesus and Byzantium; not only prevented
 "Philip from becoming master of the Helle-
 "spont; not only afforded you an opportunity
 "of acquiring immortal honours; but displayed
 "to all the world, the dignity and integrity of
 "Athens, and the base perfidiousness of Philip.
 "He, the friend and ally of the Byzantines,
 "publicly

* de Coron.
 sect. 27.

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“publicly and avowedly besieged their city; Sacr. HE.
 “(can we conceive a baser, a more abandoned,
 “outrage?) You, who might have justly che-
 “rished resentment against them, on account of
 “ancient injuries, not only forgot all your
 “wrongs; not only refused to look with in-
 “difference on their danger; but appeared to
 “all mankind their great deliverers; and, by
 “this transcendent generosity, acquired univer-
 “sal love and honour. That you have fre-
 “quently honoured many of those with crowns
 “to whom the conduct of your affairs hath been
 “intrusted, is well known. But name, if you
 “can, any one confessor, or public speaker, ex-
 “cept myself, by whose means the state itself
 “hath been thus honoured.”

If the recollection of these honours, after a long interval of time, was pleasing and flattering to the Athenians, they could not but have been greatly affected by them, when they had been just conferred; and possibly the success and glory of this expedition contributed greatly to dispose their minds to vigorous and warlike measures. Disappointments depressed them; and the least appearance of good fortune elevated and transported them. They were now engaged in deliberation on an affair, which had been,

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been, for some time, considered as of great moment. About the time that Philip meditated the siege of Byzantium, this prince, who already perceived some degree of vigour breaking through that immoderate indolence which had long possessed the Athenians, determined to make use of every artifice to check their rising spirit. It was of particular importance to him, if possible, to deter them from opposing the designs he was now prepared to execute; at least to possess the other states of Greece with unfavourable sentiments of their conduct, and to make them regard the hostilities, which it might be convenient for him to commit against Athens, as equitable and necessary. For these purposes he addressed a large letter to the Athenians, in which he recounted all his complaints, all his real and pretended injuries, in the amplest and most artful manner; examined every allegation made on their part, and obviated every objection to his conduct. This letter was received at Athens after the account of the defeat of Chares in the engagement with Amyntas, and, as was intended, afforded the partisans of Macedon a copious subject for haranguing, and ample and powerful arguments for intimidating the people, and diverting them from all measures that might produce an open rupture.

THIS

THIS piece now became the object of consideration in the assembly of the people. It hath happily been preserved, and is an honourable proof of the eloquence and abilities of this prince. I take the liberty therefore of transcribing this letter at large: which, however it may have been already laid before the English reader, must be considered as a necessary part of the present work.

“ PHILIP, to the senate and people of
“ Athens, greeting.

“ As the embassies I have frequently sent to
“ enforce those oaths and declarations by which
“ we stand engaged, have produced no alteration in your conduct, I thought it necessary
“ thus to lay before you the several particulars
“ in which I think myself aggrieved. Be not
“ surprised at the length of this letter: for, as I
“ have many causes of complaint, it is necessary to explain them all distinctly.

“ FIRST then, when Nicias the herald was
“ forcibly taken out of my own territory; instead of punishing the author of this outrage,
“ as justice required, you added to his wrongs,
“ by keeping him ten months in prison: and
“ the letters intrusted to him, by us, you read
“ publicly

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“publicly in your assembly. Again, when
“the ports of Thasius were open to the By-
“zantine gallies, nay, to any pirates that pleased,
“you looked on with indifference; although
“our treaties expressly say, that such proceed-
“ings shall be considered as an actual declara-
“tion of war. About the same time it was,
“that Diopithes made a descent upon my do-
“minions, carried off in chains the inhabitants
“of Crobylè and Tiristasis, ravaged all the ad-
“jacent parts of Thrace, and at length pro-
“ceeded to such a pitch of lawless violence, as
“to seize Amphilocus, who went in quality of
“an ambassador to treat about the ransom of
“prisoners; whom, after he had reduced him
“to the greatest difficulties, he compelled to
“purchase his freedom at the rate of nine ta-
“lents. And this he did with the approbation
“of his state. Yet the violation of the sacred
“character of heralds and ambassadors is ac-
“counted by all people, the height of impiety:
“nor have any expressed a deeper sense of this
“than you yourselves: for, when the Mega-
“reans had put Anthemocritus to death, the
“people proceeded so far as to exclude them
“from the mysteries; and erected a statue be-
“fore the gates, as a monument of their crime.
“And is not this shocking, to be avowedly
“guilty of the very same crimes, for which
“your

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" your resentment fell so severely upon others, Secr. Hist.
 " when you yourselves were aggrieved?

" In the next place; Callias, your general,
 " hath made himself master of all the towns
 " upon the bay of Pagasæ, though comprehend-
 " ed in the treaty made with you, and united in
 " alliance to me. Not a vessel could steer its
 " course towards Macedon, but the passengers
 " were all treated by him as enemies, and sold:
 " and this his conduct hath been applauded by
 " the resolutions of your council. So that I do
 " not see how you can proceed further, if you
 " actually declare war against me. For, when
 " we were at open hostilities, you did but send
 " out your corsairs, sell those who were sailing
 " to my kingdom, assist my enemies, and infest
 " my territories. Yet now, when we are pro-
 " fessedly at peace, so far have your injustice
 " and rancour hurried you, that you have sent
 " ambassadors to the Persian, to persuade him to
 " attack me: which must appear highly fur-
 " prising: for, before that prince had subdued
 " Egypt and Phœnicia, it was resolved, that, if
 " he attempted any new enterprises, you would
 " invite me, as well as all the other Greeks, to
 " an association against him. But, now, with
 " such malice am I pursued, that you are, on
 " the contrary, confederating with him against
 " me.

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“ me. In former times, I am told, your ancestors objected it as an heinous crime to the family of Pisistratus, that they had led the Persian against the Greeks: and yet you are not ashamed to commit the very same action, for which you were continually inveighing against those tyrants.

“ But your injustice hath not stopped here. Your decrees command me to permit Teres and Cerfobleptes to reign unmolested in Thrace, as being citizens of Athens.—I do not know that they were included in our treaty, that their names are to be found in the records of our engagements, or that they are Athenians. But this I know, that Teres served in my army against you; and that, when Cerfobleptes proposed to my ambassadors to take the necessary oaths, in order to be particularly included in the treaty, your generals prevented him, by declaring him an enemy to the Athenians. And how is this equitable or just? When it serves your purposes, to proclaim him the enemy of your state; when I am to be calumniated, to give him the title of your citizen; when Sitalces was slain, to whom you granted the privileges of your city, instantly to enter into an alliance with his murderer; yet to engage in a war with me, on account of Cerfobleptes?

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Sect. III.

“bleptes? And this, when you are sensible,
“that not one of these your adopted citizens,
“have ever shewed the least regard to your laws,
“or determinations. But to bring this affair to
“a short issue. You granted the rights of your
“community to Eyagoras of Cyprus, to Diony-
“sius the Syracusan, and to their descendants,
“Prevail therefore upon the men who have de-
“posed each of these, to restore them to their
“dominions, and you shall recover from me all
“those territories of Thrace, which Teres and
“Cersobleptes commanded. But if you have
“nothing to urge against those who expelled
“them, and yet are incessantly tormenting me,
“am not I justly warranted to oppose you?—I
“might urge many other arguments upon this
“head, but I chuse to pass them over.

“THE Cardians, I freely declare, I am deter-
“mined to support; as my engagements to them
“are prior to our treaty; and as you refused to
“submit your differences with them to an arbi-
“tration, though frequently urged by me: nor
“have they been wanting in the like solici-
“tations. Should not I therefore be the basest
“of mankind, to abandon my allies, and to
“shew greater regard for you, my inveterate
“opposers, than for my constant and assured
“adherents?

“ FORMERLY (for I cannot pass this in silence)
“ you contented yourselves with remonstrating
“ upon the points above-mentioned. But lately,
“ upon the bare complaint of the Peparethians,
“ that they had been severely treated by me, you
“ proceeded to such outrage, as to send orders
“ to your general to avenge their quarrel. Yet
“ the punishment which I inflicted was no way
“ equal to the heinousness of their crime: as
“ they had, in time of peace, seized Halonesus,
“ nor could be prevailed upon, by all my soli-
“ citations, to give up either the island or the
“ garrison. The injuries I received from the
“ Peparethians were never thought of; but their
“ punishment commanded all your attention, as
“ it afforded a pretence for accusing me; al-
“ though I did not take the island either from
“ them, or from you, but from the pirate Sostra-
“ tus. If then you confess that you delivered
“ it to Sostratus, you confess yourselves guilty
“ of sending out pirates: if he seized it, without
“ your consent, how have I injured you, by
“ taking possession of it, and by rendering it a
“ secure harbour? Nay, so great was my regard
“ to your state, that I offered to bestow you this
“ island: but this was not agreeable to your
“ orators: they would not have it accepted, but
“ resumed. So that, if I complied with their
“ directions, I proclaimed myself an usurper: if

“ I still

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“ I still kept possession of the place, I became
 “ suspected to the people. I saw through these
 “ artifices, and therefore proposed to bring our
 “ differences to a judicial determination; and,
 “ if sentence was given for me, to present you
 “ with the place; if in your favour, to restore
 “ it to the people. This I frequently desired:
 “ you would not hear it: the Peparethians seized
 “ the island. What then was I to do? Should
 “ I not punish the violators of oaths? Was I
 “ tamely to bear such an audacious insult? If
 “ the island was the property of the Peparethians,
 “ what right have the Athenians to demand it?
 “ If it be your’s, why do you not resent their
 “ usurpation?

“ So far, in short, have our animosities been
 “ carried, that, when I had occasion to dispatch
 “ some vessels to the Hellespont, I was obliged
 “ to send a body of forces through the Chersonesus
 “ to defend them against your colonies,
 “ who are authorized to attack me by a decree
 “ of Polycrates, confirmed by the resolutions of
 “ your council. Nay, your general has actually
 “ invited the Byzantines to join him, and every-
 “ where publicly declared, that he has your
 “ instructions to commence hostilities, at the first
 “ favourable opportunity. All this could not
 “ prevail upon me to make any attempt upon

X 2

“ your

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF

“ your city, or your navy, or your territories ;
 “ although I might have had success in most, or
 “ even all of them. I chose rather to continue
 “ my solicitations, to have our complaints sub-
 “ mitted to proper umpires. And which, think
 “ ye, is the fittest decision ; that of reason, or of
 “ the sword ? Who are to be judges in your
 “ cause, yourselves or others ? What can be more
 “ inconsistent, than that the people of Athens,
 “ who compelled the Thassians and Maronites
 “ to bring their pretensions to the city of Stryma
 “ to a judicial decision, should yet refuse to have
 “ their own disputes with me determined in the
 “ same manner ? Particularly, as you are sen-
 “ sible, if the decree be against you, still you
 “ lose nothing ; if in your favour, it puts you
 “ in possession of my conquests.

“ But what appears to me the most unac-
 “ countable is this : when I sent you ambassa-
 “ dors, chosen from all the confederated powers,
 “ on purpose to be witnesses of our transactions ;
 “ when I discovered the sincerest intentions of
 “ entering into reasonable and just engagements
 “ with you, in relation to the affairs of Greece,
 “ you even refused to hear these ambassadors on
 “ that head. It was then in your power to re-
 “ move all their apprehensions, who suspected
 “ any danger from my designs ; or to have
 “ openly

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“ openly convicted me of consummate baseness.
 “ This was the interest of the people; but the
 “ orators could not find their account in it; for
 “ they are a set of men, to whom (if I may be-
 “ lieve those who are acquainted with your po-
 “ lity) peace is war, and war is peace; as they
 “ are always sure to make a property of the
 “ generals, either by aiding their designs, or by
 “ malicious prosecutions. Then they need but
 “ throw out some scandalous invectives against
 “ persons of worth and eminence, citizens or fo-
 “ reigners, and they at once acquire the charac-
 “ ter of patriots, among the many. I could have
 “ easily silenced their clamours against me, by a
 “ little gold; and even have converted them into
 “ praises: but I should blush to purchase your
 “ friendship from such wretches. To such info-
 “ lence have they proceeded upon other occa-
 “ sions, that they even dared to dispute my title
 “ to Amphipolis; which is founded, I presume,
 “ upon reasons beyond their power to invali-
 “ date: for, if it is to belong to those who first
 “ conquered it, what can be juster than our
 “ claim? Alexander, our ancestor, was the ori-
 “ ginal sovereign, as appears from the golden
 “ statue which he erected at Delphos, from the
 “ first fruits of the Persian spoils taken there.
 “ But if this admits of contest, and it is to con-
 “ tinue the property of those who were last in
 “ possession,

“ possession, it is mine by this title too; (for I
“ took it from the Lacedaemonian inhabitants,
“ who had dispossessed you:) and all cities are held
“ either by hereditary right, or by the right of
“ conquest. And yet you, who neither were the
“ original possessors, nor are now in possession,
“ presume to lay claim to this city, under pre-
“ tence of having held it for some short time;
“ and this, when you have yourselves given the
“ strongest testimony in my favour: for I fre-
“ quently wrote to you upon this head, and you
“ as often acknowledged me the rightful sove-
“ reign: and, by the articles of our late treaty,
“ the possession of Amphipolis, and your alli-
“ ance, were both secured to me. What title
“ therefore can be better established? It de-
“ scended to us from our ancestors; it is our’s
“ by conquest; and, lastly, you yourselves have
“ acknowledged the justice of our pretensions;
“ you who are wont to assert your claim, even
“ when it is not supported by right.

“ I HAVE now laid before you the grounds of
“ my complaints. Since you have been the first
“ aggressors; since my gentleness, and fear of
“ offending, have only served to increase your
“ injustice, and to animate you in your attempts
“ to distress me; I must now take up arms;
“ and I call the gods to witness to the justice of
“ my

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“ my cause, and the necessity of procuring for
“ myself that redress which you deny me.”

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To have distinctly answered every article in this letter would have been extremely difficult, with so much force and delicacy had Philip urged all his real or pretended causes of complaint. The conduct of Athens, notwithstanding all the advantages of a good cause, had been in many instances highly exceptionable; and these instances Philip knew how to display to the greatest advantage. Demosthenes therefore, the strenuous adversary of Macedon, found himself obliged to exert all his address against so powerful an antagonist. Without engaging to a formal discussion of facts, the orator applies himself wholly to the lively passions. He affects to consider the letter as a formal declaration of war; inflames the imagination of his hearers with this idea; animates and urges them to a vigorous opposition; and points out the means of giving success to their arms. He seemed to triumph and exult in this letter, as an avowal of those iniquitous designs, which he had so frequently imputed to Philip; and with a passionate zeal, which hath all the appearance of sincerity, addressed himself to the assembly in that short oration, intituled, ON THE LETTER; which is, as it were, a recapitulation

Touss.
Somm.
Orat. in
Epist.

Book IV. tulation of all that he had, in former times, urged
 against the king of Macedon.

ENCOURAGED by their late successes, and inflamed by the eloquence of their public leader, the Athenians seemed to have quite forgotten all their indolence and self-enjoyment, and, with a violent and tumultuary zeal, declared loudly for war. Generals were instantly nominated to head their forces, powerful fleets and armies were decreed, and ambassadors appointed to solicit the states of Greece to take arms, and to raise up enemies against the Macedonian. During these transactions, Phocion arrived, and, in these dispositions, he found his countrymen: he knew full well the real power of Philip, and the weakness, corruptions, and instability of Athens; he dreaded the zeal of Demosthenes, which he considered as rash and misguided, and not wholly disinterested; he deemed it more prudent to preserve the remains of power, which Athens now enjoyed, than by engaging in a contest, which though just and warrantable, yet could not but prove dangerous, and might involve the state in ruin; and, probably, his honest and unsuspecting temper might have been so far deceived by the professions of Philip, that he imagined this prince would have contented himself with a bare superiority

city of power and glory, without attempting to reduce the Greeks to a state of absolute subjection and dependence. Agreeably to these sentiments, this illustrious Athenian now joined with the partisans of Macedon, and did honour to their faction, by zealously recommending peace and accommodation. But the present temper of the assembly was directly opposite to such counsels. "What!" cried an orator of inferior note, and disadvantageous character, who sought to recommend himself by seconding the instances of Demosthenes, "darest thou, Phocion, dissuade the Athenians from war, when the sword is already drawn?" "Yes," replied the true disinterested patriot; "though in war I shall be thy master, and in time of peace thou mayest perhaps prove mine." His opposition only served to expose him to invectives unworthy of the integrity of his intentions: the sentiments of Demosthenes favoured the passions of his hearers, and therefore found no difficulty in prevailing. He repeated his vehement remonstrances, as opposition and clamour protracted the debate; and urged the Athenians to engage Philip at the greatest distance possible from Attica, so as to keep all the evils of war from their own territory.

"My countrymen," said Phocion, "if we must declare for battle, let us rather be solicitous how to gain the victory, than to determine
" on

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Plut. in
Phocion.

Plut. in
Phocion.

Book IV. "on the scene of our operations. This is the
 "true and only means of keeping the war at a
 "distance. If we are overcome, the worst of
 "calamities will be quickly at our doors."

Plut. in
 Phocion.

BUT, whatever opinion Phocion might entertain of the conduct of his countrymen, he was always ready to afford them his most zealous and faithful services; and, by his valour and conduct, to contribute to the success of their arms. Megara, where the Macedonian interest seems to have now prevailed, and to have oppressed the inhabitants, applied at this time to Athens, in order to be enabled to shake off the yoke, and particularly to defend them against some attempts which the Boeotians seem to have made, in order to become masters of the city. The deputies applied to Phocion, who instantly prevailed on the Athenians to accept of a proposition so agreeable to their present views. A body of troops was led by him into Megara, where they were received with joy. The partisans of Macedon retired at their appearance; and the Athenian general fortified the port of Nicaea, raised and strengthened two new walls which secured the communication with the sea; and thus both defended the city from all attempts by land, and enabled the Athenians to throw

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throw in succours, whenever any emergency might demand them. Sacr. III.

Thus the people of Athens, in their first sudden heat, acted with a vigour which seemed to promise great and illustrious events. Their emissaries were busily employed in the several states of Greece to represent the danger to be apprehended from the common enemy, and to invite them to an union and confederacy necessary for the general safety. Demosthenes, and Hyperides an orator scarcely of inferior note, had distinguished themselves by their zeal and abilities in these commissions, and returned to Athens with the most favourable hopes of powerful assistance. About this time, the former of these ministers was engaged in performing a service of high importance to his country. A man named Antipho had been for some time considered as an Athenian citizen, till, by an examination of the registers, he was found to be really a foreigner, and was accordingly deprived of all the privileges of a native, and driven, with some ignominy, from the city. Enraged at his disgrace, he went off to Philip, and, to gratify his revenge, and to recommend himself to a master who ever paid his emissaries with distinguished generosity, proposed to steal privately into Athens, and to set fire to the arsenal. Philip, who

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
72.
Plut. X.
Orat. Vit.
Hyp.

Dem. de
Coron.
sect. 43.
Ulp. in loc.

Book IV.

who was neither delicate in the choice of his instruments, nor in the means of distressing or reducing his antagonists, listened readily to the proposal of this hireling, and, by bribes and promises, encouraged him to the attempt. Antipho set out and arrived privately at Athens: his enterprise seemed easy to be executed: he was now safely lodged in the port, where all naval preparations were carrying on with vigour, and at all times could find admittance to the place, where were lodged great quantities of timber, and other materials for a fleet. But Demosthenes happily received a timely intimation of this black design. He flew to the Piræus, where he soon found the place of Antipho's concealment, whom he seized and dragged before an assembly of the people. Here his accusation was treated by the friends and partisans of Macedon with contempt and scorn. Æschines, in particular, inveighed against the whole transaction as tyrannical and oppressive, and accused his rival of assuming a power inconsistent with freedom, insulting over the misfortunes of a wretched citizen, entering violently and unwarrantably into the house of an innocent man, and harassing and oppressing him by his malicious and groundless accusations. So great an effect had these clamours, that the criminal was dismissed without the formality of a trial; and now departed, triumphing in his escape,

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
42.

to

to pursue his wicked design with greater security. But the august court of Areopagus, whose particular province it was to take cognizance of all matters of treason against the state, had greater and juster attention to the information of Demosthenes. They caused Antipho to be again seized and brought before the people; where they insisted that he should be strictly and regularly examined as to the crime laid to his charge. Torture forced from him a full confession of his guilt: and sentence of death was passed and executed on the wretch, who had attempted so infamous a service to the enemy of that community, of which he claimed the honour of being a member.

Sacr. III.

THIS event gave new credit to the party which declared for war, and possibly contributed to confirm the people in their present dispositions, which were universally of the active and vigorous kind. At length they saw that formidable enemy, whose arms had been long accustomed to success, foiled in two attempts of great importance, and principally by the counsels and arms of Athens; retiring before their general, and forced from all designs on Greece, to retrieve the honour of his arms in parts remote and barbarous. This then was the happy moment for pursuing their advantages, and for reducing that ambition

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
27.

Book IV.

ambition to just and equitable bounds, which was now, for the first time, severely mortified and disappointed. Such were the airy hopes which the Athenians entertained against a prince, who was still concerting his secret schemes in the very heart of Greece, and securing the most effectual instruments of success and greatness, in the passions, prejudices, and corruptions of that nation. This leading state, to render the hostilities now meditated the more formidable and effectual, reflected seriously on the causes of all past misfortunes and disappointments, and seemed resolved to reform those corruptions and abuses, which had disgraced their constitution, and weakened their power. The oppression and severe exactions which their allies and dependent states had lately complained of, and to which the necessity of their affairs had contributed, as well as the avarice of their commanders, naturally determined them to reflect on the necessity of making some effectual provision for the payment of their armies: and this as naturally determined the honest and faithful counsellors to resume the consideration of that old scandalous abuse, the theatrical distributions. There is an oration * of Demosthenes still extant on this occasion, in which he earnestly urges them to a general regulation of the state; points out their corruptions, with their causes and consequences;

Dionys. Hal.
Epist. ad
Ammac.
Lucchesini
Not. in Arg.
Orat. de
Ord. Rep.

* περί τῆς
Συλῆς.

sequences; and describes both the ancient and present condition of Athens; Athens uncorrupted, illustrious, and fortunate; and the same state degenerated and disgraced; with a spirit natural to this orator. In this address no mention is at all made of Philip, possibly that the attention of the assembly might not be distracted and divided. And, as to the theatrical appointments, though he speaks more boldly than on former occasions, yet he still preserves on this point a great degree of caution; once more recurring to his former expedient for eluding the force of Eubulus's law, and recommending to his countrymen to accept of these distributions as a full recompence for those services which the state might demand from their several ages and stations. "As to this money," saith he, "and the affair now immediately proposed to our attention, a speaker may, without danger, appear on either side: by condemning those men who thus distribute and exhaust the public treasures, he may gain the esteem of those who regard this custom as highly injurious to the state, or by assenting, and encouraging these distributions, he may recommend himself to the favour of the inferiour and poorer part of the community. The general interest of their country is considered by neither, but their approbation or condemnation of this custom influenced

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 “of affluence or indigence. I, on my party
 “shall neither oppose nor recommend it. But
 “this I would entreat you maturely and seriously
 “to consider, that the money is of little mo-
 “ment; the custom which hath arisen from
 “thence of the greatest consequence. If then
 “these distributions are received as a reward
 “for those acts of duty you owe the state, far
 “from injuring, you really perform the most
 “essential service both to your country and to
 “yourselves; but if a public entertainment, or
 “any other like pretence, may serve for demand-
 “ing these sums, and the bare mention of any
 “further conditions be rejected with impatience;
 “notwithstanding all your regulations, how spi-
 “rious, how promising soever, you will find
 “yourselves inevitably exposed to all the conse-
 “quences of misconduct.

“This I now declare as my opinion, (let me
 “not be interrupted by clamour and opposition;
 “but hear, and then determine) that, as we are
 “now convened about receiving these appoint-
 “ments, so should an assembly be called, to con-
 “sider of a general regulation of the commu-
 “nity, and particularly of a provision for our
 “military affairs; and that every citizen should
 “discover not only a just attention to all useful
 “measures.

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“ measures, but a just alacrity to carry them into
 “ execution; that so, my countrymen, our hopes
 “ of good fortune may depend upon ourselves,
 “ instead of amusing ourselves with reports of
 “ this or that man’s exploits. Let all the public
 “ treasures, all the funds for which private for-
 “ tunes are now so uselessly exhausted, all those
 “ resources which our allies afford, be equitably
 “ distributed, and effectually applied. Let the
 “ soldier consider his portion as the full reward
 “ of his services in the field; let him, who hath
 “ passed the age of military duty, accept of his
 “ part as a full recompence for his services in the
 “ administration of justice. Let the duties of
 “ the field be performed by yourselves, duties
 “ too important to be intrusted to other hands.
 “ Let your armies be composed of citizens:
 “ thus let them be paid and provided; thus
 “ shall they go on with vigour and success; and
 “ thus shall your general really command his
 “ troops. Then, my countrymen, our whole
 “ occupation shall no longer be to conduct the
 “ trials of our officers; nor the result of all our
 “ armaments no more than this short form,
 “ *Such a man, the son of such a man, hath brought*
 “ *an impeachment against such a person.*”

THE result of the present debate was this;
 that scandalous law of Eubulus, which denounced

Dionys.
 Epist. ad
 Ammae.

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Y

death

Book IV.

• In Plut.
Quæst. Pla-
ton. p. 1011.

death against any person who should propose the alienation of the theatrical appointments, was at length repealed: and the people, convinced, though late, of the necessity of such a regulation, consented to part with that fatal allure-ment, by which they had been so long *lured*, to use the expression of * Demades, and to apply those public treasures to the equipment of their navies, and the maintenance of their armies, which had, till now, even in the most perilous times, been lavished on poets, players, and musicians.

Plut. in
Alex.

SUCH were the dispositions of the Athenians, when the king of Macedon led his troops towards Scythia. The young prince Alexander, who, from the time that Philip first marched against Byzantium, was entrusted with the administration of his government, had, in the absence of his father, made an expedition against the Medareans, a people of Thrace, subjects of Macedon, who had revolted from their allegiance. Their chief town he stormed, dispersed the barbarous inhabitants, in whose room he established a colony composed of different nations; and ordered, for the future, that the town should be called Alexandropolis; so early had he conceived a passion for immortalizing his name. And now the victorious young prince marched at the head
of

of all the noble youth of Macedon, his companions and officers, to join his father.

Sect. III.

As he approached the frontiers of the king of Scythia, Philip dispatched an herald, who was commissioned to inform that prince, that the king of Macedon, when engaged in the siege of Byzantium, had made a vow to Hercules, that he would erect a brazen statue to the honour of his divinity, on the opening of the Danube. This vow he now prepared to perform, and hoped, that his religious intentions would meet with no opposition on the part of the Scythians. To this insidious overture, which seems to be an argument that the original pretence for this expedition was not extremely well founded, Atheas coldly answered, that "Philip, if he pleased, might send the statue to him, which he should take care to erect in the appointed place, and engage, besides, for its security and continuance. But that, if it was fixed there without the concurrence of the Scythians, he could not give any assurance but that they might melt it down, in order to point their spears and arrows." This answer convinced Philip, that Atheas was apprized of his real intentions; and therefore he now prepared to enter Scythia in an hostile manner.

Just. l. 9.
c. 2.

Book IV.

THE people of this country were poor and warlike. They had formerly pushed their conquests to a considerable extent; but the conquerors of other nations had never been able to establish their power in Scythia. An extraordinary valour, robust and hardy constitutions, and a frugality almost incredible, in a great measure supplied those defects, under which they laboured from a total ignorance of military discipline. At first some skirmishes and encounters arose between several detached parties of the two nations, in which the Scythians had the advantage. Some of the Macedonians were made prisoners, among which number was Ismenias, eminent and celebrated through Greece, for his performance on the flute. Such an artist was sure to be received at the court of Macedon with favour and distinction. The polite arts had long been the glory of Greece; and Philip, whose earliest ambition, as hath been already observed, was to make his kingdom considered as a member of that body, justly conceived it one effectual method to introduce those arts into Macedon, which had ever been one great distinction between the Grecian and Barbarian world. Eloquence, which he really possessed, he is said to have cultivated and displayed even to a degree of extravagance and pedantry; and in music he affected

Plut. in
Apophth.

Plut. in
Alex.

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affected a taste and skill much beyond what he really possessed (although on one occasion, when his son, who had the like passion, seemed to take a pleasure in his musical performance, he asked with contempt, whether he was not ashamed to perform so well). With this Ismenias he is said once to have been engaged in discourse on a piece of music, in which he was betrayed into some warmth of opposition to the sentiments of so complete a master: "Heaven forbid, great Sir," replied the artist with spirit and politeness, "that you should be so well acquainted with these matters as we."

SECT. III.

Plut. in Apophth.

Ibid.

BUT Ismenias was now in the hands of a people, from whom his accomplishments could command no esteem. His fame, however, induced the king of Scythia to hear his performance on the flute: but his music was received without pleasure or applause. Atheas, with a barbarous insensibility, observed, "That, to his ear, the neighing of his mare was much more agreeable."

Ibid.

At length the armies of the two nations met in the open field, and prepared for a general engagement. Philip was not inclined to expose his Macedonians to the brutal ferocity of their enemy; and therefore formed his first line en-

Frontin.
l. 2. c. 8.
str. 14.

Book IV.

tirely of those auxiliaries which attended him, archers, slingers, and such light armed forces. His phalanx he drew up at the rear of these, with their pikes so pointed, as to threaten death to those who should retreat. The auxiliaries, thus inclosed between the enemy and this no less formidable body, were obliged to exert the utmost efforts of vigour and bravery; and, at length, broke the Scythian army, after an obstinate resistance, and great slaughter both on one part and the other. The victory was complete; and more than twenty thousand prisoners of all ages and sexes were taken on the field of battle. It is well known, that the wives and children of the Scythians attended them to war; that they had no general but their king; no god but their sword, which was literally the object of their adoration; and no country or habitation but the spot on which they occasionally encamped. The Macedonians gained a large booty, all of a warlike kind. Gold, silver, costly vases, rich stuffs, and all the instruments of luxury and magnificence, were entirely unknown in this country. The spoil consisted wholly of arms, chariots, and twenty thousand mares, which were destined to furnish the magnificent studs of Pella, where, we are informed by * Strabo, Philip kept no less than thirty thousand mares and three hundred stallions.

Just. l. 9.
cap. 2.

Oliv. l. 24.
p. 295.

Just. ut
supra.

* L. 16.
p. 752.

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THIS booty, such as it was, tempted the Triballi, a barbarous people descended from the same origin with the Illyrians and Paeonians, and whose manners differed little from those of Scythia: they had, in appearance, submitted to Philip, acknowledged themselves subjects of Macedon, and had allowed that prince a peaceable passage through their country, when he first marched against Scythia. But now, when he was returning to Macedon through the defiles of the Moesian mountains, they boldly opposed his progress, and insisted on a share of his booty. As the Macedonians had not suspected the least opposition from the Triballi, they marched on securely: the demand of the Triballi confounded them, and the attack, which immediately succeeded it, they were totally unprepared to repel. Laden with booty, encumbered by their baggage, and inclosed in a narrow and disadvantageous situation, they could neither assist their fellows, nor defend themselves: so that this army, which had so often been victorious, was now in danger of perishing without glory, without the opportunity of exerting their valour, and by the hands of an enemy contemptible, and unworthy of their swords. To increase the confusion, certain mercenary Greeks, now in the army of Philip, made the same demand with the Triballi, and drew their swords

Sæc. III.

Just. l. 9.

c. 3.

Curt. l. 3.

c. 3.

Book IV.

to support it. In this imminent distress, Philip rushed into the heat of all the tumult, and, where the contest was most violent, fought for a long time with extraordinary valour. At length his horse sunk under him; and the same weapon, which pierced the beast, wounded the rider also dangerously in the thigh, who now lay senseless on the earth, surrounded by the enemy. The young prince Alexander, who was also, on this occasion, distinguishing himself by acts of valour, flew, with the noblest and bravest of his attendants, to the rescue of his father. He himself covered him with his shield; the enemy was driven back, and the king conveyed safely from the tumult. His danger inspired the Macedonians with all the fury of revenge, so that the Triballi were no longer able to sustain their attack. They fled and dispersed; but the confusion of the Macedonians gave them an opportunity of carrying off the greatest part of the booty.

PHILIP'S wound was attended by no other ill consequence but a lameness, with which he continued to be affected; an inconvenience which, it is pretended, he bore with great impatience; and that Alexander, on this occasion, made that famous answer to his father: "How can you, Sir, be displeased at an accident, which, at every step you take, recalls your valour to remembrance?"

Plut. de
fort. Alex.
Orat. 1.
p. 331.

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HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
PHILIP
KING OF MACEDON.
BOOK THE FIFTH.

THE LIFE AND REIGN

OF
PHILIP
KING OF MACEDON.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

PHILIP

KING OF MACEDON.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

THE

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—The Athenians in confuſion.—Send to demand a
truce.—League formed in favour of Athens.—The
Thebans not inclined to unite either with Philip or
the Athenians.—Philip's artifice to prevent an union
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moſthenes.—The Thebans ſtill irreſolute.—Alarm
the Athenians by their letter to Philip.—The Athe-
nians renew their applications to Philip for a ceſſa-
tion of arms.—Philip's letter to the Athenians,—
to the Thebans.—He ſeizes Elataea.

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PHILIP Notwithstanding all his application to maritime
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 naval power as that of Athens. By this means
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 been considerably interrupted; and the country
 repeatedly ravaged by the troops of his ene-
 mies, who were ever falling a prey to the

ships of war.

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SECTION I.

IN these distant expeditions, in which Philip
 had been now engaged, and which appa-
 rently diverted his attention from the affairs
 of Greece, the great objects of his ambition were
 ever present to his mind, the springs which
 moved and actuated all his conduct. His crea-
 tures and partisans were still busily employed to
 facilitate the final subjection of all the Grecian
 states, by the secret power of intrigue; while
 their

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 SECT. I.

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• de Coron.
sect. 48.

their master was engaged in retrieving the glory of his arms, which the efforts of the Athenians, directed by the abilities of Phocion, had contributed in some degree to fully. In effect, the hostilities of this people, even when conducted by weak and dastardly commanders, and defeated by the superior vigour and abilities of Philip, yet (if we may believe • Demosthenes) greatly distressed and harassed this prince. Notwithstanding all his application to maritime affairs, Macedon could not yet boast so great a naval power as that of Athens. By this means, the trade and commerce of his subjects had been considerably interrupted; and the enemy frequently enriched by the spoils of his merchants, who were ever falling a prey to their ships of war.

THE subjection of this people was therefore absolutely necessary to the schemes of his ambition; but a fair and popular pretence was as necessary to justify the attempt, and to assure its success. The naval superiority of Athens secured them from any invasion by sea; and, without the absolute concurrence of the Thebans and Theffalians, no attack could be made by land, where these people served as a sort of barriers to Attica. Any open violence, unwarranted by some specious reasons, any direct in-
fraction

fraction of a treaty which still formally subsisted, could not fail to alarm these people, who were now apparently jealous and dissatisfied at the still increasing power of Macedon; and might determine them to rise up at once, and oppose Philip's entrance into Greece. With people thus disposed, no private cause of quarrel, no complaint by which Macedon alone might be affected, could have any weight to induce them to unite their arms with an ally, to whom they, by this time convinced of his insincerity, were no longer bound by inclination. This prince therefore determined, with a true and consummate policy, to find out such a cause to justify his arms, as might influence all the states of Greece; and to appear, as if he only fulfilled his engagements, and asserted the rights of his allies and confederates, while he really gratified his own ambition and revenge. An affected regard to religion had at first gained him admission into Greece; to the same pretence he now resolved to recur; and, by the happy expedient of a religious quarrel, to effectuate those schemes of greatness and power, which he had hitherto carried on with unwearied vigour. The chief instruments of his designs, if we may rely on the representations of * Demosthenes, he chose at Athens, the place where he was most openly and avowedly opposed, and where,

* de Coron.
sect. 43.

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where, of consequence, he could be least suspected of finding assistance. Agents thus chosen might securely carry on their intrigues, and raise disorders, whose tendency they themselves might not perceive in its full extent, and whose secret springs must lie concealed from the Greeks, who could not readily be persuaded, that the actions of Athenian citizens were dictated by Philip, or calculated to serve his purposes.

De Coron.
sect. 49.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
38.

THESE, we are told, were the sentiments of this prince; and that his gold was therefore now liberally dispersed at Athens, to animate the industry of a corrupted faction; by whose intrigues, assisted by the unsuspecting security of the people, ever ready to forget their danger, the moment that their enemy was removed to any distance, Æschines, Diognetus, Midias, and Thrasicles, all favourers and partisans of the Macedonian, were chosen the representatives and deputies of Athens in the great council of Amphistions. In these august characters they repaired to Delphi, where, immediately after their arrival, Diognetus and Midias fell sick; or, at least, pretended sickness, as Æschines was, by his abilities, the fittest instrument of designs which they had all concerted; who, thus found himself possessed, in effect, of the whole management

nagement of the deputation, and left at full liberty to serve the interests of a master, to whom he had basely sold his country.

SECT. I.

It cannot be denied, that too much honour is sometimes paid to the policy of princes, by ascribing those events to their intrigues and machinations which are oftentimes wholly fortuitous. But Philip was the prince of all others, of whose designs we may most safely judge by appearances. His restless and turbulent ambition, his well-known vigilance, sagacity, and penetration, gave weight to the representations of Demosthenes, even when the facts were recent, and might have been strictly scrutinized, and examined in all their circumstances. And we, of these later ages, may perhaps safely regard those representations, as something more than the artifices of party; and, not without reason, ascribe those events to intrigue and design, which are now to be explained; and which, though at first seemingly inconsiderable, yet regularly and uniformly wrought the great purposes of Philip, and, in the end, produced the total subversion of liberty and Greece.

BUT it is here previously necessary to engage the attention of the reader to a part of the ancient history of Greece, which hath exercised the

Vid. Hist.
desl'Acad.
d'Insc. vol.
5. p. 60.

VOL. II.

Z

learned

Book V.

Memoires,
vol. 7. p.
201.

learned, in order to clear up the difficulties with which it appears to be embarrassed, but which the present purpose requires to be only related briefly.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
36.Strab. l. 9.
p. 418.Pausan. in
Phoc.
Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
36.

BETWEEN the town of Delphi and the sea, was a certain district, called the Cirrhæan plain, which, in ancient times, had been possessed by the people of Cirrhæa, a town upon the gulph of Corinth; and by the Acragallidæ, a neighbouring people of Phocis. Cirrhæa, by the convenience of its harbour, soon became the seat of affluence, which, of consequence, inspired the inhabitants with exalted ideas of their own importance. Their neighbours they treated with contempt, and sometimes oppressed by their tyranny: in defiance of the order of the Amphiçtyons, which exempted all those from duties and taxes whom religion brought to Delphi, they exacted considerable sums for the use of their port, both from Greeks and strangers. Not contented with these means of enriching themselves, they entered with fire and sword into the adjacent districts, violently seized some lands belonging to the temple of Apollo, profaned and pillaged the temple itself, and insulted and abused the Amphiçtyons, who attempted, by their authority, to restrain these outrages. Such enormous crimes could not but render them an object

object of horror to Greece in those days of simplicity and religion; which was considerably increased by the denunciations of the oracle, which uttered the severest sentence against those sacrilegious wretches, and commanded all who approached the sacred shrine, to exterminate them with fire and sword. On this occasion, Solon, the Athenian legislator, zealous for the honour of religion, called loudly on the Amphictyons to execute the commands, and assert the rights, of Apollo; and, by his persuasion, the council engaged in a war against the delinquents of Cirrha. Their forces were collected, under the conduct of Eurylochus the Thessalian, according to Strabo, Plutarch, and other writers; or Clysthenes the Sicyonian, as Pausanias asserts. Alcmaeon, an Athenian, commanded the forces of his state, as * Plutarch informs us, from the ancient register of Delphi; and was attended by Solon himself, who appeared in the camp to animate the soldiers, and direct the whole expedition by his sage counsels.

SECT. I.

Plut. in Solon.

Strabo, l. 9, p. 418.
Plut. in Sol.
Polyaenus, l. 6. c. 13.
Paus. in Phoc.
* in Solon.

THE city of Cirrha was closely invested and pressed by a vigorous siege. All the violence of a religious zeal was exerted against the devoted enemies of heaven; who, on their part, made an obstinate defence to prevent their total extirpation. Thus was the war protracted

BOOK V.

Callisthenes
in Athe-
naeo.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
36.
Paus. in
Phoc.

to a considerable length; and the besiegers, after a long series of almost ten years, notwithstanding all their art and valour, notwithstanding their implicit obedience to the dictates of Apollo, who vouchsafed to direct them in the course of their expedition, at last found the success of the siege doubtful and precarious. To the oracle they had again recourse, to be informed of the final issue of this tedious quarrel; and to obtain some declaration which might invigorate their drooping courage. The answer, as reported by Æschines and Pausanias, with some small difference of expression, but the same in sense and real purport, was delivered in the following manner:

Still shall those tow'rs their ancient pride maintain;
Nor force nor valour e'er that rampart gain;
'Till Amphytritè, queen of azure waves,
The hallow'd lands of sov'reign Phoebus laves;
'Till round his seat her threat'ning surges roar,
And burst tumultuous on the sacred shore.

This answer did not contribute to lessen the perplexity of the Amphictyons, as it was not easy to conceive how the lands, which surrounded the temple, and were considered as the portion of the god, could possibly be washed by the sea, from which they were at a considerable distance. On the other hand, it served to elevate the people

ple of Cirrha, who regarded it as a formal declaration that their city was impregnable. But, unhappily for them, the sagacity of Solon relieved the besiegers from their distress. He advised them to declare all the lands of Cirrha as consecrated to Apollo, that so the hallowed territory might really extend to the shore, and be really washed by the sea. The expedient was approved of; and now the only question was, how they might accelerate the conquest of a city, which heaven had, as it were, delivered into their power. The means for this purpose were also suggested by Solon. He found out a private aqueduct, which conveyed a considerable quantity of water into Cirrha. A branch of the river Plistus, the source of this supply, he turned off into a basin provided for its reception, and there impregnated it with the roots of hellebore. The river, thus endued with all the purgative quality of this plant, he again restored to its ancient channel. The besieged, who, in this interval, had laboured under many difficulties from the want of their usual supply, and were now delighted to find their river once more running through their city, drank of these medicated waters with the utmost eagerness, which baffled all their valour, and obliged them to desert their posts. In these circumstances, the besiegers made a general assault, and, with

SECT. I.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
36.
Paul. in
Phoc.

Ibid.

Book V.

*Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
36.*

case, became masters of a town which had so long braved all their efforts. Cirrha was pillaged, burnt, and destroyed; and those of its inhabitants, whom the sword had spared, were reduced to slavery. Their port was demolished, their territory dedicated to the god, and all the Amphictyons engaged, by a most solemn oath, never to cultivate this district, never to suffer it to be cultivated; but to assist the deity, and support the rights and privileges of the consecrated land, with all their power. To render this obligation still more awful, the following dreadful imprecations were added: "If any
" people, city, community, or private persons
" shall presume to violate this oath, may they
" be devoted to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana,
" Latona, and Minerva the provident! May
" their lands never produce their fruits! May
" their wives, instead of a natural offspring,
" bring forth horrid monsters! May their herds
" be cursed with unnatural barrenness! May
" all their attempts in war, all their transactions
" in peace, be for ever blasted and defeated!
" May total ruin for ever pursue them, their
" families, and their descendants! and may they
" never appease the offended deities, Apollo,
" Diana, Latona, and Minerva! but may all
" their sacrifices and offerings be for ever re-
" jected!"

THE

THE determination of the Amphictyons was at first observed with the attention usually paid to all new regulations, till time began, by degrees, to wear off the terrour of these imprecations. A superstition, which tended to deprive mankind of their natural rights, of the comforts and necessaries of life, and the rewards of human industry, was obliged to yield to temporal convenience. At first, the port of Cirrha was restored, as the service of the god itself seemed to require, that such a provision should be made for the reception of those votaries who visited his temple. At length the Locrians, who inhabited Amphissa, possessed themselves of the consecrated land, exacted all the ancient duties from those to whom the port afforded an accommodation, which they repaired and kept in order, without regard to the decrees and resolutions of old times, now generally considered as obsolete and fabulous. A long and peaceable possession seemed to have obliterated all remembrance of their usurpation, which the Greeks justly regarded as a common advantage, and paid, without repining, for the convenience of an harbour that rendered their approach to Delphi secure and easy.

SECT. I.

Pausan. in
Phoc.
Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
37.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when Æschines and his colleagues appeared in the council

cil of the Amphictyons; and such, probably, might they have for ever remained, had not craft and policy found it convenient to assume the semblance of religion, and to veil their black designs under an affectation of piety and holy zeal. But now Æschines was duly instructed and prepared to transact his master's business. Contests and disputes were to be raised among the Greeks; and care was taken, that the seeds should be already sown. As the Amphictyons were at this time employed in repairing the temple, and replacing the offerings which the Phocians had removed in the late sacred war, certain golden shields were sent from Athens, inscribed with the following sentence: **TAKEN BY THE ATHENIANS FROM THE MEDES AND THEBANS, WHEN THEY FOUGHT AGAINST GREECE.** These were hung up in the temple before the regular consecration of the offerings, which was accounted a sort of profanation; nor could it be expected, but that the Thebans must be highly provoked by this invidious memorial of their old disgrace. It was immediately whispered, that the Amphissæans, out of their regard to Thebes, had determined to move the council, that a fine of fifty talents should be imposed on the people of Athens, for thus prematurely depositing their offering. At this report the Athenian deputies expressed the utmost astonishment

astonishment and concern; and Æschines, who was left solely to manage the affairs of his state, was earnestly pressed by his colleagues to exert himself on this occasion.

SECT. I.

THIS partisan now rushes into the assembly of the Amphictyons, and, with all the appearance of a true patriot zeal, begins a formal defence of the Athenians, before any accusation had been regularly brought against them. Here he is immediately interrupted by a citizen of Amphissa, who, with an impatience and resentment which might have been entirely the effect of art, inveighs loudly against Athens: "Ye Grecians," saith he, "had ye the least share of wisdom, ye could not suffer the very name of the Athenian people to be mentioned at this time, but must drive them from the temple, as accursed and devoted wretches, who, in defiance of all laws divine and human, presumed to support the sacrilege of the Phocians, and to associate with these execrable profaners of Apollo, themselves no less execrable and profane."

Dem. pro
Coron. sect.
48.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
38.

ÆSCHINES had now a fair opportunity of raising commotions, by appearing only interested for his country, and zealous for the glory and defence of Athens. With a passionate warmth, which is frequently the effect of artifice as well

as

Book V. as that of real patriotism, and which is most likely to deceive, and more particularly in popular assemblies, by being considered as the indication of sincerity, and the overflowings of an heart honestly affected, this master of intrigue now addressed himself to the assembly in the following manner :

“ WITH horror and indignation do I hear
 “ this opprobrious treatment of a people re-
 “ nowned and dignified by great actions ; the
 “ acknowledged guardians and protectors of
 “ Grecian liberty. Who art thou, abandoned
 “ wretch, who thus presumest to vent thy hate-
 “ ful malice against this illustrious people ?
 “ Hast thou not heard, art thou insensible of,
 “ our merit, rude and brutal as thou art ? Or,
 “ What demon hath possessed thy mind, and
 “ driven thee to this extravagance ? But say,
 “ ye Grecians, Shall men, who never knew the
 “ exalted pleasures of renown and glory, be
 “ suffered to tear from us the venerable memo-
 “ rials of those virtues which our ancestors so
 “ nobly, so greatly displayed ? Shall men,
 “ themselves polluted by sacrilege, devoted to
 “ destruction by the most awful denunciations
 “ of vengeance, presume to accuse the Athe-
 “ nians of profanation ? Look down, ye reve-
 “ rend guardians of religion, defenders of the
 “ rights

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SECT. I.

“rights of Apollo; look down on that plain
 “which there lies before you; those lands from
 “ancient times dedicated to the god. Behold
 “how they are now occupied and cultivated by
 “the Amphissæans: see what buildings they
 “have there erected. Behold that port, which
 “the religion of our ancestors consigned to de-
 “solation, is now, by those impious men, rebuilt
 “and fortified. You see yourselves, and need
 “not any testimony from me, that they have
 “exacted duties, and raised large sums of wealth,
 “from that accursed harbour. Let me intreat
 “your attention, while the oracle, the awful
 “mandate of Apollo, is recited, which first de-
 “termined the fate of this district. You hear
 “the voice of heaven claiming and hallowing
 “these lands. Hear now the solemn oath and
 “dreadful imprecation of our ancestors. Thus
 “did these pious Greeks engage to assert the
 “rights, and to defend the cause, of the god.
 “Shall their posterity forget those religious en-
 “gagements? Shall those tremendous curses
 “be supinely disregarded, or impiously braved
 “and despised, in this assembly? For myself,
 “for my country, for my children, for my fa-
 “mily, I here declare, that we will assist the
 “deity, and maintain the privileges of the con-
 “secrated land: and, pursuant to the tenour of
 “this oath, with all our strongest efforts, with
 all

" all the powers of soul and body, discharge
 " that sacred duty which we owe to heaven.
 " Do you, ye Grecians, determine as you please.
 " Your religious rites are prepared; your vic-
 " tims stand before the altars; you are prepar-
 " ing to offer up your solemn prayers, for blef-
 " sings on yourselves, and on your countries.
 " But oh! consider with what voice, with what
 " heart, with what front, with what confidence,
 " can you breathe out your petitions, if you
 " suffer those sacrilegious men, whom you have
 " thus devoted and accursed, to escape with
 " impunity. The terrible imprecation is not
 " conceived in dark or doubtful terms. No;
 " the curse extends not only to these impious
 " profaners, but to all those who suffer their
 " profanation to pass unrevenge'd. Hear the
 " very terms. These are the words with which
 " the awful and affecting form is closed: *May*
 " *those who permit them to go unpunished, never*
 " *offer up an acceptable sacrifice to Apollo,*
 " *Diana, Latona, and Minerva the provident;*
 " *but may all their offerings and religious rites be*
 " *for ever rejected and abhorred!*"

Æschin. in
 Ctes. sect.
 39.

HAVING thus harangued the Amphictyons,
 Æschines retired, and gave the creatures of
 Macedon an opportunity of fomenting the dis-
 orders now excited. A general murmur first
 rose

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rose in the assembly, which was instantly succeeded by violent tumult and confusion. The men, who were entrusted with the secret of the whole transaction, and many honest and undesigning members of the council, whose real regard to the religion of their country was now alarmed and offended, declared loudly for the interests of heaven, and the necessity of supporting the rights of Apollo. The Amphissacans, on their part, had strenuous advocates, prompted by interest or policy; and the different parties maintained the contest with equal heat and violence, for the greatest part of that day. At length the sentiments of religion prevailed, and proclamation was made to this effect: "That
 "all inhabitants of Delphi, both slaves and
 "freemen, above the age of sixteen, should,
 "the next morning, repair with spades, mat-
 "tocks, and axes, to the Thytaeum, a place
 "adjacent to the Cirrhaean plains." And, by a second proclamation, all the hieromnemons and pylagorae were enjoined to assemble at the same place, in order to assist the god, and defend the consecrated ground: and it was declared, that the representatives of any state, who should absent themselves on this occasion, were to be excluded from the temple, and declared obnoxious to the vengeance denounced by the imprecation.

*Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.*

39.

EARLY the next morning the Amphictyons, and all the inhabitants of Delphi, appeared at the place appointed by the proclamation, and from thence proceeded to the Cirrhaean plain. Full of a religious fervour, and, probably, still further inflamed by some designing leaders, who could well assume the appearance of zeal and piety, and were well acquainted with the influence and power of such an appearance, these men fell instantly to demolishing, burning, and destroying the harbour, the houses, and all the effects and possessions which the labour and industry of the Amphissaecans had produced; and were now preparing to retire, with the complacency and satisfaction of men conscious of having asserted the cause of heaven; when the inhabitants of Amphissa, who were but sixty stadia distant from Delphi, appeared in arms to defend their property, and furiously attacked the Delphians. Some of the venerable body of the Amphictyons became their prisoners, and all the others were obliged to provide for their security, by a precipitate retreat into the town.

*Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
39.*

THIS action of the Amphissaecans was considered as an heinous aggravation of their impiety, and greatly increased the general clamour and disorder. The next morning Cottyphus, the president of the Amphictyonic council, summoned an assembly

bly composed not only of the usual representatives of the several states, but also of all the Greeks who came to offer sacrifices, or to consult the oracle, who were all considered as guardians of the temple, and entitled to share in the transactions of the council. In this assembly, where the numbers must greatly have increased the tumult, the severest invectives were uttered against the Amphissaeans, and much praise of the dignity and piety of Athens. The result of their deliberations was to enter into a resolution, that the hieromnemons should assemble at a time appointed, previous to the next ordinary convention at Thermopylae, with a decree prepared in due form, specifying the punishment to be inflicted on the Amphissaeans, for their crimes committed against the god, the consecrated land, and the Amphictyons.

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ÆSCHINES now returned with his colleagues to Athens, where he made a full relation of his conduct to the assembly, and produced the decrees and resolutions of the Amphictyonic council. The people, who, in general, saw nothing more in these transactions than an extraordinary zeal and attention to religion, applauded their deputies, and breathed the utmost indignation at the impiety of the Amphissaeans. But Demosthenes, who justly dreaded the consequences

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
40.

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Demost. pro
Ctes. sect.
47.
Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
40.

Sect. 37.

quences of a religious quarrel, and, perhaps, saw through the whole design, and all the secret springs by which these commotions were raised and actuated, loudly expressed his dissatisfaction; and endeavoured to inspire the assembly with suspicions of the integrity of their Amphictyons, and with displeasure at their conduct, in embroiling the states of Greece in an unseasonable quarrel, founded on obsolete traditions, and calculated to weaken and disunite them, and to give the common enemy an opportunity of establishing his power on their divisions. But the cause of religion was fair and popular, and had greater influence on the multitude than his remonstrances, which were considered as the mere effect of envy and private pique, and which his rival orator took care to represent as the consequence of a secret engagement with the Amphissæans, by which they bound themselves to pay him twenty minae yearly, besides one thousand drachmae in hand, to oblige him to support their interest at Athens.

In the senate Demosthenes was more favourably received, and heard with a juster attention. Here, political motives had a greater weight; and the consequences of every measure were considered with greater caution and temper. Here, then, the representations of this vigilant

gilant and sagacious statesman had their due effect. He prevailed to have a decree passed, (to which, either the deference due to the opinion of the senate, or, as Æschines represents it, the artifice of Demosthenes in taking the opportunity of a thin assembly, procured the confirmation of the people) to the following effect:

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Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
49.

“RESOLVED, That all such persons who shall
“be deputed by the people of Athens, as their
“heromnemons and pylagoræ, shall hereafter
“repair to the general council of the Amphic-
“tyons at the times stated and appointed by
“our ancestors: and that the said persons shall
“not have any intercourse with the extraordi-
“nary council now to be convened; nor share
“in their debates, proceedings, decrees, or any
“of their transactions whatever.”

THUS the final determination of the Atheni-
ans was, in effect, to condemn the conduct of
their deputies, and to protest against all the
consequences of their misguided and interested
zeal. In obedience to the resolution of the
state, Æschines and his colleagues remained at
Athens, while all the other representatives of
the Greeks, except those of the Thebans, (who
were possibly by this time made to fear, that
these commotions had been really raised by

SECT. 41.

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Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
41.
Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
51.

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
41.

Philip for his own purposes) assembled at the time appointed for the extraordinary council. In this assembly it was unanimously resolved, that the Amphictyons should declare war against the Locrians of Amphissa. And Cottyphus, who is called both an Arcadian and Pharsalian, and who possibly was born in one of those countries, and engaged in the service of the other, was appointed general of the Amphictyonic army. This man, who was either in the interest of Philip, and privy to his designs, or not possessed of the qualifications necessary for conducting and bringing this war to a speedy issue, acted without vigour or resolution; and, instead of improving the advantages he obtained in some slight hostilities, entered into a treaty with the people of Amphissa. A fine was imposed on them, for the payment of which a sufficient time was allowed: the most culpable of their citizens were banished; and others, who were said to have disavowed the sacrilege of their countrymen, restored to their possessions, from which they had been driven by the opposite faction. But, instead of conforming to the terms and conditions of this treaty, the Locrians, who only sought to gain time, and might have been privately spirited up to a further opposition, refused absolutely to pay the fine imposed on them, recalled the men whom the Amphictyons had

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had banished, drove out those who had been recalled, and still continued to occupy and to cultivate the consecrated lands. Care was taken to represent this their conduct, with all the necessary aggravations, at the next general council; and this produced the following resolution, which hath all the appearance of moderation, but might have been entirely calculated for raising new commotions, and for carrying on one uniform design in favour of Philip.

“ In the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the general assembly of the Amphictyons, held in the spring, It is RESOLVED, by the pylagorae, and the assessors in the said assembly, That, whereas the people of Amphissa continue to profane the consecrated lands, and do at this time actually occupy them by tillage and pasture:—the pylagorae and assessors shall repair to the said lands, and determine the boundaries by pillars; strictly enjoining the people of Amphissa to cease from such violation for the future.”

Demost. in
Ctes. sect.
51.

THE Amphictyons, therefore, again visited these lands; and were again repulsed by the Amphissaeans, who wounded Cottyphus, and put his attendants to flight. And now the grand design, which Philip's agents had been so long concerting, became ripe for execution.

Ibid.

A 2 2

This

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Demost. in
Ctes. sect.
50.

This new outrage increased the clamour and indignation of the assembly, where there were numbers of Philip's creatures, who knew how to improve this happy opportunity. They rose up, and inveighed against the sacrilegious profaners of divine things, with all the warmth which a true regard to religion raises, and which hypocrisy can frequently assume; they mentioned the late ineffectual measures which had been pursued to reduce those wretches to the due subjection; they lamented, in a pathetic manner, the great and heavy expence with which the righteous cause, now undertaken by the Amphictyons, must necessarily be attended; the remissness and insensibility of several people who had hitherto neglected the defence of the temple, and from whom no vigorous and effectual assistance could be expected for the future. Upon the whole, they declared, that, in order to discharge those sacred duties which they owed to heaven, that they might not fall under those dire curses by which they and their posterity were bound, they were now to apply to some powerful instrument of the divine vengeance, who might prove able and well-disposed to take up arms in defence of Apollo, and to support the authority of the great and august council of Greece. There is a prince, said they, whose zeal for the gods, whose tender regard to
the

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the honour of the sacred shrine, have been already approved and acknowledged. Philip king of Macedon is now returning from his conquest of Scythia. He hath piety to prompt him, and force to enable him to assert our cause. To him, therefore, whom the gods seem to point out as the great defender of religion, let this our cause be committed.

THESE sentiments were echoed through the assembly by the friends of Macedon; and the tumult kept up to drown all the remonstrances of caution and policy. The suspicious and wary were discouraged and insulted; the undesigning were deceived; and thus, on this fatal day, faction, corruption, supineness, inattention, and weakness, all conspired to give the deadly wound to Grecian liberty, by the following decree, which was now passed in due form:

“ IN the pontificate of Clinagoras, in the general assembly held in the spring.—Whereas
 “ the people of Amphissa have cantoned out
 “ among themselves the consecrated lands, have
 “ occupied them by tillage and pasture, and,
 “ when summoned to desist from such profanation, rose up in arms, and forcibly repelled
 “ the general council of Greece, wounding
 “ some of the members, and particularly Cotty-

A a 3

“ phus

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“ thus the Arcadian, general of the Amphic-
 “ tyons :—It is therefore resolved by the pyla-
 “ gorae, the assessors, and the general assembly,
 “ that a deputation shall be sent to Philip king
 “ of Macedon, inviting him to assist Apollo and
 “ the Amphictyons, and to repel the outrages
 “ of the impious Amphissaean; and farther to
 “ declare, that he is constituted by all the Greeks,
 “ members of the council of the Amphictyons,
 “ general and commander of their forces, with
 “ full and unlimited powers.”

Æschin. in
 Ctes. sect.
 41.

THIS welcome invitation and commission, the fruit of all his secret practices, Philip received in Thrace, while he was yet on his return to Macedon. He bowed, with an affected reverence, to the venerable council, and declared his readiness to execute their orders.

THE inferiour states of Greece, and all those whose simplicity and weakness rendered them insensible to the designs now forming by Philip, entirely approved of this act of the Amphictyons; and of the nomination of a prince to the command of their forces, so eminent and illustrious for his piety, and so capable of executing the vengeance of heaven. At Sparta, and at Athens, this event was considered in a different manner. The first of these people, though pos-

possession of but a small part of their ancient greatness, yet still retained their pride, and seem to have looked with a sullen indignation at the honours paid to Macedon. The Athenians had been long taught to dread the policy of Philip; and had now their great popular leader, who repeatedly urged the necessity of suspicion and vigilance; represented all the late transactions in the Amphictyonic council as the effects of Philip's intrigues, and his designs against Greece in general, but more particularly against the welfare and liberty of Athens.

To counteract the zeal of Demosthenes, and to prevent the effects of his incessant remonstrances, the minds of the people were alarmed with oracles and predictions, uttered with all solemnity from the sacred tripod, and reported to the Athenians with all the veneration due to the dictates of Apollo. Vengeance was denounced against all those who should presume to oppose the king of Macedon, the destined instrument of divine justice. The people were exhorted not to suffer artful and designing orators, and popular leaders, to seduce them to their ruin. This was an oracle easy to be applied by the two great contending speakers to each other; though, possibly, the real intention of the priests was to raise suspicions of Demosthenes, and to pre-
dice

Dinarch. in
Dem.

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Plut. in
Phoc.

dice the people against him. She also spoke much of the singularity of some one citizen, who disturbed the harmony of the state, by opposing the general sentiments of his countrymen. This too was probably intended to mark out Demosthenes. But when the oracle was read in the assembly, and variously interpreted, according to the different passions and designs of the different partisans and leaders, Phocion, who ever treated his fellow-citizens with that honest severity which arose from a just sense of their errors, and a patriot zeal for reformation, rose up, and at once put an end to all debates about the application. *I am that singular person, said he; I entirely dissent from all your proceedings. I dislike your measures, your resolutions, your whole conduct.*

Æschin. in
Ctes. p. 42.

A PARTICULAR event now gave new occasion to Philip's agents to confound the minds of the people with superstitious fears. The great mysteries of Ceres were celebrated with all the usual solemnity; and a number of the initiated persons, who were considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven, died suddenly, during the course of their ceremonies and religious rites. This was reported, and received at Athens, with general consternation, as ominous and portentous. It was immediately proposed to send a deputation to Delphi, to consult the god on this alarming

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ing occasion: a design which Demosthenes justly considered as intended to gain some new declarations from the priests in favour of the Macedonian interest; and which he therefore determined to oppose. "My countrymen," said he, "it is to no purpose to consult the oracle at this time. We cannot obtain the real and genuine dictates of Apollo. It is very plain, by those pretended oracles which have been already reported to us, that the Pythian priestess speaks as Philip dictates; that she is secretly influenced by him, and devoted to his service." This sentiment he expressed by an artificial phrase, *The priestess philippizes*, which struck the imagination, and pleased the taste of the people, a never-failing method of influencing and prevailing in the assembly.

Stor. I.

Phil. in
Demost.

In the mean time, Philip prepared to act in that character with which he was now invested. He set sail for Greece with a numerous fleet, but soon learned that Chares and Proxenus, the Athenian commanders, were prepared to oppose his descent with a superiour naval force. An engagement might hazard the success of his present design, or at least retard it; and therefore he determined to have recourse to artifice, in order to extricate himself from the present difficulty. He dispatched a light vessel from his fleet,

Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
51.

Polyaen.
l. 4. c. 2.
Ar. 3.

Book V.

Plot. in
Demetr.

fleet, with letters directed to Antipater, informing him, that certain commotions had arisen in Thracæ, which obliged the king to appear immediately in that country, and added orders and directions suitable to such a design. The better to conceal his stratagem, he also addressed some letters to his queen Olympias. The vessel, as was intended, fell into the enemy's hands; the pretended dispatches were sent to Athens, and there opened (the queen's letters only excepted, which this polite people sent back in the condition in which they were received). The admirals were ordered to quit their station, and to steer towards the Chersonesus; and thus was Philip suffered to land unmolested. The forces of his own kingdom were more than sufficient to reduce the Amphissæans: but, under pretence of giving a greater solemnity to the execution of the Amphictyonic decree, he resolved to summon all those people who sent representatives to that council to attend his standard, and to assist him in inflicting the punishment due to sacrilege. Thus he could distinguish his adherents from those who secretly envied his power, or openly opposed his interest, and render the latter odious to the rest of Greece, as men who deserted or opposed the cause of heaven. The Thebans first received his summons, and received it with the temper of a people, who repented of their engagements

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engagements with Macedon, and envied the greatness of Philip. They at first declined to concur with him, which produced the following invitation to the people of Peloponnesus:

Sect. I.

Dem. de
Corona, sect.
51.

“ PHILIP King of Macedon, to the magistrates
“ and counsellors of the confederated people
“ of Peloponnesus, health.

“ WHEREAS the Locri, called Ozolae, inha-
“ bitants of Amphissa, profanely commit out-
“ rages on the temple of Apollo in Delphi; and
“ in an hostile manner invade, and make depre-
“ dations in, the sacred territory; know ye, that
“ we have resolved, in conjunction with you, to
“ assert the rights of the god, and to oppose
“ those impious wretches, who have thus pre-
“ sumed to violate all that is accounted sacred
“ among men. Do you, therefore, meet me in
“ arms at Phocis, with provisions for forty days,
“ within this present month called by us Loüs,
“ by the Athenians, Boedromion; and, by the
“ Corinthians, Panemus. Such as attend us
“ shall be duly consulted, and all measures pur-
“ sued with their concurrence; they, who re-
“ fuse obedience to these orders, shall be pu-
“ nished. Farewell.”

THE Thebans, who were particularly con-
cerned in the menaces with which this letter is
concluded,

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concluded, were now considerably embarrassed and divided by their jealousies and apprehensions. They were heartily weary of their engagements with Philip: they dreaded, as well as envied, the increase of his power; nor could all their phlegm and slowness prevent them from perceiving, that the reduction of the Amphissaean was, by no means, an object adequate to the greatness of all these military preparations. On the other hand, they had ever affected, when their interest demanded it, an implicit obedience to the determinations of the Amphictyonic council, and could not now, either with decency or safety, appear to forget the veneration due to that assembly; and, therefore, determined to send a body of infantry to the appointed place of rendezvous, under the command of Proxenus, one of their generals, who was the pensioner of Philip. The Lacedaemonians, on their part, persevered in the resolution of detaching themselves entirely from these affairs, and having no share in the dispute. At Athens the usual commotions arose in the assembly; and the several parties and popular leaders exerted all their zeal to influence and direct the public councils. Demosthenes inveighed with his usual force and energy against Philip, and his pernicious designs; and, prompted by the fury of his zeal, or by secret motives of interest, urged the people

Dinarchi
Orat. in
Dem.

Dem. in
Ctes. sect.
52.

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to oppose the king of Macedon, by assisting the Amphissaeans; and thus to disappoint the ambitious schemes of this prince, who had now found a specious but insidious pretence for ravaging, and destroying, and subverting, the states of Greece, and establishing that power and sovereignty, which had ever been the darling object of his wishes. Aeschines, on the other hand, insisted on the odiousness and danger of such a measure, which no man, he said, could recommend, who was not secretly bribed by the Amphissaeans: and that even, supposing the present war to be no more than a pretence, yet it was the Thebans who had most reason to dread the consequences of it, as they were the people more immediately threatened by the Macedonian arms.

Aeschin. in
Ctes. sect.
45.

PERHAPS it would have been most prudent for the Athenians to have imitated the example of Lacedaemon on this occasion. They could have made no effectual opposition to Philip, without the concurrence and assistance of the Greeks; and, although, by remaining quiet, they might not have prevented him from attacking their state, yet such an attack would not have been supported by any plausible plea, and might have spirited up some powerful opposition in the other states of Greece. But unhappily they chose

Sect. 46.

chose (and it must be acknowledged, that Demosthenes seems to have determined them to this choice) the most odious and dangerous step that could possibly have been taken. Without daring to remain quiet, or marching with all their force to repel what they affected to consider as an invasion of their country; without endeavouring to strengthen themselves by the concurrence of any other power; they hired out a body of ten thousand foreign troops to the Amphissaeans, under the command of Charidemus; and thus incurred the censure of supporting sacrilege, and deprived their state of a considerable part of its security, without distressing or checking the progress of the enemy.

Demost. in
Ctes. sect.
51.

THEIR ineffectual reinforcement, together with the Amphissaeans, fled before the Macedonians, who pursued them to their town, where they found an easy admittance. Philip, having stationed a garrison there, and made such dispositions as might be agreeable to the Amphictyons, proceeded to spread terrour through the adjacent districts. Some other cities, who were accused of sharing in the sacrilege of Amphissa, were dismantled or rased to their foundations. Thus much the honour of the god, and the authority of the great council, required; for both of whom Philip still affected the highest veneration,

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ration, and, no doubt, took care to inspire the Greeks with unfavourable sentiments of Athens, and its attachment to Amphissa, and to display every thing exceptionable and unpopular in the conduct of that state.

Sec. 1.

THESE events naturally raised the utmost terror and confusion in that community, where good or bad advices were ever received with an extravagance of triumph or consternation. The people were firmly convinced, that the victorious army was now ready to appear in the territories of Attica, with fire and sword, under the pretence of completing the vengeance of the god. To gain a little time, in order to collect their force, and to prevail on some other Grecian cities to assist them in this their extremity, seemed now the only measure which the Athenians could pursue: and for this purpose it was resolved to send an embassy to Philip, in order to demand a truce; though as yet the war was not declared in due form, either on one or the other side. The decree for this embassy was conceived in the following terms:

Demof. in
Ctes. sect.
52.

“IN the archonship of Heropythus, on the
“twenty-fifth day of the month Elaphebo-
“lion, the Erechian tribe presiding, the
“senate and generals came to the following
“resolution:

Ibid.

“WHEREAS

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“ WHEREAS Philip hath possessed himself of
 “ some adjacent cities, and demolished others,
 “ and is actually preparing to make an inroad
 “ into Attica (in manifest contempt of his en-
 “ gagements), and to rescind all his late treaties
 “ and obligations, without the least regard to
 “ public faith : It is RESOLVED, that ambassadors
 “ shall be sent to confer with him, and to exhort
 “ him to preserve that harmony, and to adhere
 “ to those engagements, which have hitherto
 “ subsisted between us : at least, that he may
 “ grant the state time to deliberate, and make a
 “ truce, till the month Thargelion.—Simus, Eu-
 “ thydemus, and Bulagoras, are elected from the
 “ senate for this commission.”

At the same time deputies were dispatched to the different cities and communities of Greece, in order to prevail on them to unite with Athens against the Macedonian power. The Corinthians, Euboeans, Megareans, Leucadians, and Corcyraeans, were attentive to these overtures, and readily consented to form the league. And now the fate of Greece appeared to depend on the determination of Thebes. This state seems to have been warmly solicited both by Athens and by Philip ; and to have received their solicitations with the fullness and reserve of a people actuated by the grosser motives of envy, re-
 sentiment,

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SECT. I.

sentment, and pride, rather than by the principles of a refined and extensive policy. They remembered the victories of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and were mortified at the thoughts of marching under the conduct of the Macedonian. They had also been particularly disobliged by the loss of Nicaea, which they had been in possession of, and which Philip was obliged to give up to the Thessalians, in order to render them deaf to the solicitations of Athens, and firm to the Macedonian interest. On the other hand, they must have hated the Athenians, as they were conscious of being despised by this people of lively genius; and much more, as they were conscious of having materially injured them, in keeping possession of Oropus. Suspended and distracted by such different principles, they received the representations of each of the contending powers with a provoking phlegm and insensibility (for by this time the pretence of a religious war was vanishing, and it began to appear plainly, that the contest was really between Athens and Macedon). This suspense and irresolution of Thebes, contributed to respite the invasion of Attica much more than the negotiations of the Athenian ambassadors, who only discovered the fears and weakness of their state, and whom Philip doth not seem to have received with any great attention.

Æschin, in
Ctes. sect.
44.

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Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
52.Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
45.

Ibid.

THE Athenians were, however, still incessant in their applications; and, by addressing themselves to the pride of the Thebans, by expatiating on the glory and honour which a brave and vigorous defence of Greece and liberty must reflect upon them, began to make some impression on their spirits, and obliged Philip to have recourse to new artifices to defeat their intrigues. It appears, that he began with endeavouring to sow dissensions between the Thebans, and the other Boeotians, in order to alienate these latter from their dependence on the capital city; to confound the Athenians, by dividing the power and interest of the Boeotic body, that so they might not know to whom they should address themselves for assistance; and, at the same time, to persuade the Thebans, that his measures could not be affected by their resolutions, or his success depend on their assistance, which could prove but inconsiderable, if separate from that of the rest of Boeotia. But Demosthenes, who was the principal agent and director in all the opposition to Philip, eluded this blow, by persuading the people of Athens to declare, by a public act, that they would support the authority of Thebes; and, at the same time, acknowledge and defend, as their allies, all those Boeotians who continued in their attachment to the capital. This declaration determined these people to remain

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main quiet, and to avoid all the consequences of disturbing the tranquillity of Boeotia. SECT. I.

YET the final determination of the Thebans was still doubtful. Resentment of former quarrels, and fears of present danger, were too powerful and prevailing to suffer them to declare publicly for Athens: and Philip had cogent motives to urge, and effectual means of supporting his interest at Thebes. He had bribed many popular leaders in that state; he knew how to lavish fair promises and assurances of friendship; to display to the people all the advantages which might arise to them from the ruin of their old enemy; and to elevate them with many flattering hopes of favour from a prince who had, on former occasions, approved himself entirely devoted to their interest. Observation and experience might have taught the Thebans to suspect the promises of the king of Macedon: however, they were at last so far prevailed on, as to send him a letter, in which they expressed their regard to ancient treaties and connexions, and their resolution of adhering to them. Formal declarations could not possibly deceive Philip: but the Athenians were so far deceived by them, that they began to despair of influencing the Thebans, and thought it necessary to repeat their applications to Philip,

Dinarch. in Dem.

Dem. in Ctes. sect. 52.

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to obtain a cessation of arms. For this purpose the following decree was made:

“ IN the archonship of Heropythus; the

“ last day of the month Munichion;—

“ at the motion of the polemarch:—

“ WHEREAS Philip is exerting his most strenuous efforts to alienate the Thebans from us, and prepares to march with all his army to the frontiers of Attica, in direct violation of the treaty now subsisting between us:—It is RESOLVED by the senate and people of Athens, that an herald and ambassadors be sent to him, who shall require and demand a cessation of hostilities, that the people may have an opportunity of deliberating on this exigency; as at present they are inclined to judge that the honour of the state cannot be supported but by an extraordinary and vigorous opposition. Nearchus and Polycrates are chosen for this commission, from the senate; and Eunomus from the people, in quality of herald.”

It was of the utmost consequence to Philip to persuade the Athenians and the other Greeks, that all appearance of pacific measures was entirely owing to his equity and moderation, and not to any dread of opposition on the part of Thebes;

Thebes; and, by an affectation of confidence in this latter people to conceal his real opinions and resolutions from them; and to intimidate his avowed enemies, by the appearance of a powerful alliance. This application of the Athenians he therefore answered by the following letter:

“PHILIP king of Macedon, to the senate
“and people of Athens, health!”

“How you have been affected towards us
“from the beginning, we are by no means ig-
“norant: nor of that assiduity with which you
“have laboured to bring over to your party
“the Theſſalians, the Thebans, and even the
“Boeotians. As theſe people had juſt ideas of
“their real intereſts, and have reſuſed to ſub-
“mit to your direction, when you find your-
“ſelves diſappointed, you ſend heralds and am-
“baſſadors to us, to put us in mind of former
“treaties; and you demand a truce, although
“you have in no one inſtance felt the force of
“our arms. I, on my part, have admitted
“your ambaffadors to an audience. I agree to
“your demands, and am ready to grant the
“ceſſation which you require, provided that
“you remove your evil counſellors, and brand
“them with the infamy which they ſo juſtly
“merit. Farewell.”

Dem. in
Cteſ. ſect.
51.

At the same time, and for the same purposes, he also addressed a letter to the Thebans, conceived in these terms :

“ PHILIP king of Macedon, to the senate
“ and people of Thebes, health !”

Dem. in
Ctes. 1st.
51.

“ I have received your letter, wherein you
“ take notice of the harmony and peace subsisting between us. I am informed, that the
“ Athenians have been assiduous in their solicitations, to prevail upon you to comply with
“ them in those demands which they have lately made. I must confess I formerly imagined,
“ that I had discovered some dispositions in your
“ state, to be influenced by their promises, and
“ to acquiesce in their measures : but now I
“ have received full assurances of your attachment to us, and of your resolutions to live in
“ peace, rather than to submit to the guidance
“ of foreign councils. I feel the sincerest satisfaction, and highly applaud your conduct ;
“ and more particularly as, by your adherence
“ to us, you have, in the most effectual manner,
“ provided for your interest and safety. Persevere in the same sentiments, and, in a short
“ time, I hope you will experience their good
“ effects. Farewell.”

Thus

THUS did this politic prince affect an implicit reliance on the declarations of Thebes; though it was extremely natural for him to suspect such declarations, the means he himself had frequently chosen to conduct his designs, and to deceive others. He considered the true strength of his interest in that city, and wisely determined to depend on something more solid and secure than formal promises. His party in Thebes appears, indeed, to have been considerable: but the opposite party was formed of those whom he had thought not of consequence enough to be gained, and of those who had rejected his overtures, influenced either by the intrigues of Athens, or by the remembrance of their ancient glory, and the great actions of their ancestors. Others were prevented from declaring themselves for either party, by their natural timidity and irresolution. Others again conceived, that the true interest of their country required them to observe a kind of neutrality, or to espouse, occasionally, the Athenian and Macedonian parties, so as to keep up a sort of balance between these two; to prevent Thebes from being embroiled in the quarrels, or involved in the distresses, of Athens; from being reduced to a state of subjection, under the notion of an alliance with Macedon, and being led by that power into any hostilities against Greece, which

would only serve to confirm the Thebans in slavery, and load them with all the odium of contributing to the destruction of their brethren the Grecians.

It was therefore absolutely necessary for Philip, by some vigorous measure, to determine the balance of interest and power to his party; to confound and dismay his avowed opposers; to crush all their efforts, and to defeat all their intrigues; to gain over and to confirm the wavering and cautious; to terrify the common people; and to convince the subtle and deep reasoners, that he was no longer to be amused and trifled with; but that the very being of the Thebans depended entirely on their cordial and effectual concurrence in his measures, and implicit obedience to his directions. These purposes he now determined to effect by one bold step, which his policy alone could dictate, and his vigour execute; which soon gave full vent to that flame which he had kindled, and made it burst forth in all its force and fury.

ELATAEA was a Phocian city of considerable note, situated in the middle of a small plain, between two chains of mountains, the one of which opened into Phocis, the other led to Boeotia. The citadel was seated on a small eminence

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nence adjacent to the town, through which ran the river Cephissus, and from thence, winding its course through Boeotia, fell into the lake Copais. This lake skirted Attica with one of its extremities, and served for the transportation of commodities from Phocis, which were carried down the Cephissus, at that time navigable by small vessels. When most of the Phocian cities were razed to their foundations, Elataea was one of those three which only were dismantled; and, when Philip became master of that country, the importance of its situation seems to have determined him to restore its fortifications, as if to prepare against some such great occasion as was now presented to him.

Secr. I.

Dem. Phil.
2. sect. 3.

THIS place he boldly seized, while the Thebans suspected nothing less than any appearance of force or violence; and the Greeks in general fondly imagined, that his designs were wholly confined to that insignificant war, which they had fatally committed to his conduct. Thus was this enterprising prince, all on a sudden, master of a post of the utmost consequence; at the head of an army capable of striking terror into his opposers; at the distance of but two days march from Attica; absolute commander, as it were, of the citadel and fortress both of Thebes

Demost. pro
Ctes. sect.
53.

Olymp.
110. Y. 3.

Book V.

Thebes and Athens; conveniently situated for receiving succours from Thessaly and Macedon; and entirely at liberty, either to give battle to those who might presume to appear in arms against him, or to protract the war to any length that might be found convenient.

BOOK

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BOOK THE FIFTH.

SECTION II.

THE news of Philip's late important transactions was quickly spread through the adjacent countries, and received with all the stupid and helpless astonishment of men roused from a long lethargy, and awakened to a dreadful sense of their danger, and of the real designs of their enemy. It was late in the evening, when a courier arrived at Athens, appeared before the Prytanes, and pronounced the dreadful tidings, that the king of Macedon had taken possession of Elataea. These magistrates, and all the other citizens, were now at supper, indulging themselves in the pleasures and gaieties of the table; when the news, which in a moment rang through all the city, roused them from their state of ease, and put an end to their festivity. The streets and public places were instantly filled with a distracted concourse, every man with terrour and confusion in his countenance, and every man solicitous for an immediate consultation on an emergency so important and

BOOK V.
SECT. II.

Olymp. 110.
Y. 3.

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and alarming. Numbers thronged precipitately to the public place, where the people generally assembled, and which, as was usual at all other times, they found occupied by the different traders who exposed their wares to sale. These were instantly driven away, without being allowed time to remove their shops; which the impatience of the multitude instantly set on fire, in order to clear the place at once, for the convenience of an assembly. Others, in the mean time, ran to seek the generals and magistrates, and clamorously demanded their appearance; others in quest of those, whose office it was to summon the citizens to a consultation: thus, through the whole night, Athens was one continued scene of uproar and confusion. At the dawn of the succeeding day, the magistrates summoned the senate; when the whole body of the people, who were now voluntarily assembled, flocked instantly to the senate-house, seized their places, and waited with the utmost anxiety for the result of so important a deliberation. The senate now appeared: the Prytanes reported to them to them the advices which had been received: the messenger was produced, and he repeated the terrible account. The public officer then arose, and, according to the usual form, invited all those to speak, who were inclined to offer their sentiments on this occasion.

This

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This invitation, which the great orator, who transmitted these particulars, observes, should have been considered as the voice of their country, imploring the advice and assistance of her children, was received with silence and dismay. It was frequently repeated; but still no man dared to offer his opinion. The eyes of all seemed turned to Demosthenes, in this universal silence and dejection, as if to entreat the advantages of his discernment and abilities, to raise his fellow citizens from their despair. Demosthenes at length arose, and appeared the only person undaunted and unmoved in this great affecting scene of consternation. With a countenance of serenity, the firm composure of a patriot, and the sage discernment of a complete statesman, he addressed himself to the assembly in the following manner:

SECT. II.
Olymp. 110.
Y. 3.

“ MEN OF ATHENS!

“ THEY, who are thrown into all this terrour
“ and agitation from an opinion that the The-
“ bans are now entirely gained over to the in-
“ terests of Philip, seem to me totally ignorant
“ of the present state of affairs. Were that the
“ case, I am convinced we should now hear,
“ not that he was at Elataea, but on our very
“ frontier. His intent (I clearly see it) in

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“ seizing this post, is to facilitate his schemes and
“ designs in Thebes. Attend, and I shall now
“ explain the circumstances of that state. Those
“ of its citizens, whom his gold could corrupt,
“ or his artifice deceive, are all at his devotion.
“ Those who originally opposed, and who con-
“ tinue to oppose, his interest, he finds inca-
“ pable of being wrought upon. What then
“ is his design? Why hath he seized Elataea?
“ —That, by drawing up his forces, and dis-
“ playing his power, on the borders of Thebes,
“ he may inspire his adherents with confidence
“ and elevation, and so terrify and controul his
“ adversaries, that fear or force may drive them
“ into those measures which they have hitherto
“ opposed. If then we are resolved, in this con-
“ juncture, to cherish the remembrance of every
“ act of unkindness, which the Thebans have
“ done to Athens; if we regard them with sus-
“ picion, as men who have ranged themselves
“ on the side of our enemy; in the first place
“ we shall act agreeably to Philip’s warmest
“ wishes, and then, I am apprehensive, that the
“ party, who now oppose him, may be brought
“ over to his interest, the whole city submit una-
“ nimously to his direction, and Thebes and
“ Macedon fall with their united force on At-
“ tica. Grant the due attention to what I shall
“ now propose: let it be calmly weighed with-
“ out

“out dispute or cavil, and I doubt not but that Sect. II.
 “my counsels may direct you to the best and
 “most salutary measures, and dispel the dangers
 “now impending over the state. What then
 “do I recommend?—First, shake off that ter-
 “ror which hath possessed your minds, and,
 “instead of fearing for yourselves, let the
 “Thebans be the objects of your apprehensions.
 “They are more immediately affected: they
 “are the first to feel the danger. In the next
 “place, all those of the age for military ser-
 “vice, both infantry and cavalry, should march
 “instantly to Eleusis, that Greece may see, that
 “you are also assembled in arms, and your
 “friends in Thebes be emboldened to assert
 “their rights, when they are assured, that, as
 “they who have sold their country to the Ma-
 “cedonian have a force at Elatea to support
 “them, so you are ready to assist the men who
 “bravely contend for liberty. In the last place,
 “I recommend to you to nominate ten ambas-
 “sadors, who, with the generals, may have full
 “authority to determine the time, and all other
 “circumstances of this march.—When these
 “ambassadors arrive at Thebes, how are they
 “to conduct this great affair? This is a point
 “worthy of your most serious attention.—Make
 “no demands of the Thebans: at this junc-
 “ture it would be dishonourable. Assure them,
 Vol. II. C c “that

Book V.

“ that your assistance is ready for their accept-
 “ ance, as you are justly affected by their dan-
 “ ger, and have been so happy as to foresee and
 “ to guard against it. If they approve of your
 “ sentiments, and embrace your overtures, we
 “ shall effect our great purpose, and act with a
 “ dignity worthy of our state. But should it
 “ happen that we are not so successful, whatever
 “ misfortunes they may suffer, to themselves
 “ shall they be imputed; while your conduct
 “ shall appear, in no one instance, inconsistent
 “ with the honour and renown of Athens.”

SUCH sage counsel, delivered with ease and resolution, amidst a general consternation, doth more honour to its author than the most complete and accomplished piece of eloquence in times of greater ease and security. Nor did it want its due effect: it was received with universal applause; Demosthenes himself was instantly chosen to head the embassy, which he had now proposed: and the following decree, composed and preferred by this orator, was readily approved, and confirmed by the assembly.

Dem. pro
 Ctes.
 sect. 55.

“ In the archonship of Nausicles, the Aian-
 “ tidian tribe presiding; on the sixteenth
 “ day of the month Scirophorion;—De-
 “ mosthenes,

“ mosthenes, the son of Demosthenes, SECT. II.
 “ of the Paeanian tribe, proposed this
 “ decree:”

“ WHEREAS Philip king of the Macedonians
 “ hath, in various times past, violated the treaty
 “ of peace subsisting between him and the state
 “ of Athens, in open contempt of his most
 “ solemn engagements, and of all that is esteem-
 “ ed sacred in Greece; possessing himself of ci-
 “ ties to which he had no claim or pretensions,
 “ reducing some to slavery that were under the
 “ Athenian jurisdiction, and this without any
 “ previous injury committed on the part of A-
 “ thens;—And whereas he, at this time, per-
 “ severes in his outrages and cruelty, imposing
 “ his garrisons on the cities of Greece, subvert-
 “ ing their constitutions, enslaving their inha-
 “ bitants, and rasing their walls; in some, dis-
 “ possessing the Greeks, and establishing Bar-
 “ barians; abandoning the temples and sepul-
 “ chres to their inhuman rage, (actions agree-
 “ able to his country and his manners) insolent
 “ in his present fortune, and forgetful of that
 “ mean origin from whence he hath arisen to
 “ this unexpected power;—And whereas, while
 “ the Athenian people beheld him extending his
 “ dominion over states and countries like his
 “ own, barbarous, and detached from Greece,

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“ they deemed themselves little affected, or injured by such conquests; but now, when Grecian cities are insulted by his arms, or totally subverted, they justly conceive it would be unwarrantable, and unworthy of the glory of their illustrious ancestors, to look on with indifference, while the Greeks are thus reduced to slavery.—For these reasons, the SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS (with due veneration to the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whose aid they now implore; and with due attention to the virtue of their ancestors, to whom the general liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the particular interest of their own state) have RESOLVED,

“ THAT a fleet of two hundred vessels shall be sent to sea (the admiral to cruise within the streights of Thermopylae). — That the generals and commanders, both of horse and foot, shall march with their respective forces to Eleufis.—That ambassadors shall be sent to the states of Greece; and particularly to the Thebans, as the present situation of Philip threatens their confines more immediately. That these ambassadors shall be instructed to exhort them not to be terrified by Philip, but to exert themselves in defence of their own liberty,

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" berty, and that of Greece: to assure them that Sect. II.
 " the people of Athens, far from harbouring the
 " least resentment, on account of any former
 " differences which might have alienated their
 " states from each other, are ready to support
 " them with all their powers, their treasures,
 " their forces, and their arms; well knowing
 " that to contend for sovereignty among them-
 " selves is an honour to the Greeks; but to be
 " commanded by a foreigner, or to suffer him
 " to wrest their superiority from them, is un-
 " worthy of the Grecian dignity, and the glo-
 " rious actions of their ancestors;—To assure
 " them, that the Athenian people do not look
 " on those of Thebes as aliens, but as kinsmen
 " and countrymen; that the good offices con-
 " ferred on Thebes, by their progenitors, are
 " ever fresh in their memory; who restored the
 " descendants of Hercules to their hereditary
 " dominions, from which they had been expelled
 " by the Peloponnesians, and, by force of arms,
 " subdued all those who opposed themselves to
 " that illustrious family; who kindly entertained
 " OEdipus, and his adherents, in the time of
 " their calamity; and who have transmitted
 " many other monuments of their affection and
 " respect to Thebes: — That the people of
 " Athens, therefore, will not, at this conjunc-
 " ture, desert the cause of Thebes and Greece;
 " but are ready to enter into engagements, de-

Book V.

“fensive and offensive, with the Thebans, cemented and confirmed by a mutual liberty of intermarriage, and by the oaths of each party tendered and accepted with all due solemnity.—The ambassadors chosen, on this occasion, are Demosthenes, Hyperides, Mnesithides, Democrates, and Callaeschrus.”

THIS decree, by which the Athenians thus declared war in form against the king of Macedonia, was quickly spread through Greece, to possess the several states with an opinion of the vigour and resolution of Athens. Philip himself was speedily made acquainted with it, and seems to have perused it with the attention due to the address and art of the composition. The eloquence and abilities of the author he affected to admire; and, on many occasions, acknowledged their power and importance: he even affected to receive the accounts of that severity with which Demosthenes treated him, with gaiety and unconcern: “let him use his liberty,” said he, “he hath a right to it: he never received our pay.” But, as the internal weakness and disorders of Athens could not possibly escape his penetration, he looked with contempt on all the efforts of that state, and might not have deemed this their spirited declaration of hostilities of so much consequence as it really proved, or as Demosthenes

Lucian in
Vit. Dem.

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mosthenes ascribes to it, who makes it the great cause of all that vigorous opposition which we shall soon find raised against Philip; and that the danger now impending over the Athenians, and all their fears of being abandoned by the Greeks, and crushed by the joint forces of many powerful enemies, were at once dispelled, and at once vanished like a vapour.

SECT. II.

Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
56.

ALL Greece was now in motion, as at the eve of some important and decisive event. The Athenian ministers arrived at Thebes; and the great contest for power and superiority appeared to depend entirely on the success of their negotiation. The glory, the freedom, and independency of Greece, were the honourable pleas by which Athens dignified its cause; while Philip, on his part, affected to act only in obedience to the orders of the Amphictyonic council, and to complete the vengeance of the god, by subduing that state which had hitherto proved the grand obstacle to the schemes of his ambition.

AMYNTAS and Clearchus appeared at Thebes in quality of his ambassadors, attended by Pytho, the celebrated orator of Byzantium. The Thessalians deputed Daochus and Thrasylæus, two creatures of Macedon. The Ætolians, the Dolopes, the Ænians, and Phthiotes, had also

Plut. in
Dem.

their

Book V.

Dem. pro
Ctes. i. c. 61.

Sect. 62.

their several representatives at Thebes. The ministers of Macedon, and its allies, affected the greatest triumph and confidence, professed to consider the Thebans as their most assured friends, and to regard any attempt to alienate them as in the highest degree ridiculous and presumptuous. The ambassadors, and friends of Athens, were in the same proportion depressed and dispirited; and the whole city, the scene of this important negociation, was now busied in caballing and intriguing, in private meetings and secret consultations; each party labouring to strengthen its interest, to confirm its adherents, and to gain new friends. The popular assembly, on whose determination the final event depended, was now convened, and Philip's representatives had that deference and distinction paid to them, that they were first admitted to address themselves to the people; when Python rose up in the name of this prince and all his allies.

He began with praising Philip and magnifying his abilities, his character, and his power; his piety towards the gods, his true regard to Greece, and his particular affection to Thebes, the place in which his infant mind had been formed by the principles of virtue, under the direction of the immortal Epaminondas. He recalled to their minds all the instances of this affection;

affection; the assistance he had frequently afforded to this state in its contest with Phocis, in which his armies, his treasures, and his person had been equally devoted to the cause of religion and of Thebes. Uniform in his conduct, and steady in his attachments, he was now preparing to assert both these important interests, which had ever been, and still were, dear to him, by chastising and humbling a state, which had always appeared equally an enemy to both. He inveighed against the fickleness and inconstancy, the turbulence and pride, of Athens; and expatiated on all its quarrels and complaints, all the circumstances of unkindness, all the appearances of aversion and contempt, which the Athenians had ever discovered to the Theban people. No greater proof of this contempt could possibly be discovered than the present application of this people to Thebes; for nothing but an opinion of an utter defect of understanding in the Thebans could possibly prompt them to desire the assistance of these, to prop the tottering power of their enemies, and to save them from ruin, by involving themselves in an unequal contest with a powerful prince, who now invites them to join their arms with his, at least to allow him a peaceable passage through their territory, that he may for ever secure to them the sovereignty of Greece, by punishing the

SECT. II.

Freinshem.
Supp. in
Curt. cap. 6.

Book V.

Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
62.

the injustice, the arrogance, the irreligion of a people, alone able to contend with them for this illustrious privilege. To comply with the Athenians, he observed, was to expose their native country to all the miseries and horrors, all the ravages and desolation, of a bloody war: to unite with Philip was to enrich themselves with the spoils of their inveterate enemies. This gracious prince invites them to share the wealth of Attica; to carry off its flocks and herds and slaves, to add to the affluence, and increase the power, of Thebes: and therefore, if interest, if gratitude, if resentment, if honour, could have the least influence on their minds, no doubt could possibly remain, but that a people, strongly urged by all these powerful motives, would instantly spurn, with a just contempt, at the mean artifices of Athens; and gladly embrace the happy occasion of establishing their power for ever, by accepting the tenders of friendship made by the great and formidable king of Macedon, whose moderation and humanity prompted him to engage them by the strong ties of gratitude and interest, rather than by the terror of his invincible arms.

Sect. 43.

His speech was delivered with an extraordinary heat and violence, as if dictated by a sincere and powerful conviction; and Philip had his friends

friends and partisans in the assembly, who tumultuously applauded and echoed his sentiments, and called loudly on the Thebans to join with the great and pious prince, the protector of the religion and liberty of Greece, rather than with the Athenians, the disturbers of its peace.

BUT now Demosthenes arose. As an orator, his reputation obliged him to exert all his abilities against an antagonist who seemed to rival him in force and vehemence. As a statesman, he was solicitous for the success of those measures which he himself had recommended; and, as a patriot, the danger of his country must have strongly affected him, and called forth all his energy. Unhappily the oration, in which he opposed this turbulent speaker, hath not been transmitted us; nor have we any considerable accounts of the arguments and topics on which he enlarged. But, from some imperfect hints in his oration on the Crown, it appears, that he expatiated, with all his art and eloquence, on the dignity of Athens, the rank which this state had ever maintained in Greece, and the attention which it had ever discovered to the common cause: that he endeavoured to divert the attention of his hearers from all ancient quarrels and animosities, which he represented as the generous effects of a passion for glory and superiority,
in

Book V.

Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
43.

in two noble rivals, whose origin, whose actions, and whose principles, rendered them equally worthy of those noble prizes, for which they had so gloriously contended. The perfidy, the treachery, and the dangerous and insatiable ambition of Philip, he represented in such strong and striking colours, that even the allies and confederates of this prince were, as he asserts, forced to rise and give testimony to the truth and justness of his allegations. All those fair offers of friendship and assistance, now lavished on the Thebans, were thence converted into so many arguments to confirm their suspicions of his sincerity, and to inspire them with distrust and caution. It was an easy and natural transition to represent their danger as certain and incontestible; to entreat them to unite with their brethren and countrymen, in order to repel the danger which threatened their walls; to accept of an assistance, which a truly cordial tenderness and affection only could prompt the Athenians to offer; and to embrace the last occasion, that might be presented, of acting consistently with their ancient glory, by bravely asserting their own liberty, and that of Greece, against the subtle and inveterate enemy of that renowned nation: a nation, whose eyes were now fixed on Thebes, imploring the assistance and defence of its generous and gallant offspring; and entreating

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treating them to remember their duty and their Swet. II.
glory; and to crush the proud Barbarian, in-
stead of rioting in the miseries, and preying on
the vitals, of its venerable parent.

THE effects of his harangue were such as
might be expected from the most exalted ideas
that can be formed of it. The agents and par-
tisans of the Macedonian were confounded;
unable to oppose or answer the strength and
energy of the great Athenian. The minds of
all the Thebans were at once ravished and in-
flamed with the love of glory: every other con-
sideration was hid from them as by inchant-
ment; all sense of gratitude, all fears of danger,
and all the cold sentiments of policy, were in-
stantly lost in that generous enthusiasm with
which the speaker fired them. Arms and ho-
nour, Athens, Greece, and liberty, were echoed
tumultuously through the assembly; where it was
resolved to accept of the assistance of Athens,
and even to desire that assistance by a decree,
which was now executed in due form.

Theopom-
pus in Plut.
Vit. Dem.

Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
63.

THUS was Philip, one of the greatest masters
of intrigue in his or any other age, for this time
foiled and defeated by the abilities of Demost-
henes; and the seizing of Elataea, which he
had reasonably considered as the most effectual
measure

Book VI.

measure for securing the Thebans to his party; proved the very means of driving them into the interest of his enemies. This is one of those events, which shew what great effects may be produced from the wisdom and integrity of public councils, and the inestimable value of a vigorous, zealous, and able statesman. An eminent modern, who had himself been much conversant in politics, and shared largely in the direction and conduct of national affairs, ascribes the success of Demosthenes to his intrigues and secret transactions, rather than to the power of his eloquence. His sentiments on this affair may not be displeasing:

Letter on
the Spirit of
Patriotism.

“ It was of mighty consequence to Philip,”
saith lord Bolingbroke, “ to prevent the acces-
“ sion of Thebes to the grand alliance, that
“ Demosthenes, at the head of the Athenian
“ commonwealth, formed against the growing
“ power of the Macedonians. Philip had emis-
“ saries and his ambassadors on the spot to op-
“ pose those of Athens: and we may be assured
“ that he neglected none of those arts upon
“ this occasion, that he had employed so suc-
“ cessfully on others. The struggle was great;
“ but Demosthenes prevailed, and the Thebans
“ engaged in the war against Philip. Was it by
“ his eloquence alone, that he prevailed, in a
“ divided state, over all the subtilty of in-
“ trigue,

"trigue, all the dexterity of negociation, all Sect. II.
 "the seduction, all the corruption, all the ter-
 "rour that the ablest and most powerful prince
 "could employ? Was Demosthenes wholly
 "taken up in composing orations, and haranguing
 "the people, in this remarkable crisis? He
 "harangued them, no doubt, at Thebes, as
 "well as at Athens, and in the rest of Greece,
 "where all the great resolutions of making
 "alliances, waging war, or concluding peace,
 "were determined in democratical assemblies.
 "But yet haranguing was, no doubt, the least
 "part of his business, and eloquence was neither
 "the sole, nor the principal talent, as the style
 "of writers would induce us to believe, on
 "which his success depended. He must have
 "been master of other arts, subservient to
 "which his eloquence was employed; and must
 "have had a thorough knowledge of his own
 "state, and of the other states of Greece; of
 "their dispositions, and of their interests rela-
 "tively to one another, and relatively to their
 "neighbours, to the Persians particularly, with
 "whom he held correspondence not much to
 "his honour: I say, he must have been master
 "of many other arts, and have possessed an im-
 "mense fund of knowledge, to make his elo-
 "quence in every case successful, and even per-
 "tinent or seasonable in some, as well as to di-
 "rect

BOOK V. "rect it, and to furnish it with matter, when-
 "ever he thought proper to employ this wea-
 "pon."

Thus far Lord Bolingbroke. But, with due deference to so great a name, and in a point on which he might expect to be heard with deference, it may be observed, that the circumstances of these times, and these states, in which we have seen Demosthenes engaged, were totally and essentially different from those of any modern scenes of intrigue or negotiation. Secret practising and caballing might have engaged, and were, no doubt, employed to engage some leading and popular men at Thebes. But still the final determination, as the noble writer hath observed, was in the people at large; a mixed body, composed of all ranks and orders of men, most of whom were to be influenced rather by their national prejudices, passions, and opinions, than by cool motives of interest or policy. To such minds, sudden, violent, and forcible impressions alone were suited; and particularly on an occasion too pressing to admit of the slow and gradual effects of intrigue. Philip himself was too well acquainted with what the present occasion required, to depend entirely on the influence of his gold, the assiduity of his partisans, or the subtlety and dexterity of private nego-

negotiations. These were all exerted, but the Secr. II.
 forcible and vehement orator was his last re-
 source. In all secret practices he had many ad-
 vantages above the Athenians; he could bribe
 more liberally; he had interest, friendship, and
 all the motives to urge, that were most powerful
 and cogent. To these the Athenians could only
 oppose honour, glory, public spirit, and such
 like arguments, which require all the powers of
 eloquence to display and to enforce. And,
 therefore, in such circumstances, and on such
 an occasion, we may perhaps safely concur with
 the general voice of historians, in ascribing this
 success of Demosthenes to his abilities as a pub-
 lic speaker.

PHILIP, who now saw himself deprived of
 twelve thousand of the best troops in Greece,
 and his enemy reinforced by such a formidable
 body, began to suspect that his enterprising ge-
 nius had hurried him too far, and to consider
 the final event as exceedingly doubtful and pre-
 carious. His agents redoubled their diligence,
 and all his artifices were exerted, to guard against
 the consequences of so alarming a disappoint-
 ment. In all his letters and addresses, his style
 appeared considerably altered; and, instead of
 that magisterial manner, which he had hitherto
 assumed, he affected a great degree of mode-

Dem. pro
 Ctes. sect.
 64.

Book V.



ration and humility. This was considered at Athens as a manifest indication of fear. The triumph of the people, in the success of their embassy, was equal to their former consternation; and Demosthenes, to whom this success was justly attributed, was now unrivalled in their affections. A resolution was entered into to confer the honour of a crown upon him in return for his important service; and Diondas, one of their citizens, who attempted to oppose the conferring of this honour, was heard with contempt and aversion, and exposed to all the consequences of a malicious accusation.

Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
64.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 85.

THE army of the Athenians was now ordered to march to Thebes. It was composed of all the citizens of the age for military service, but the depravity and inattention of this people appeared even in their most vigorous measures. The merits of Phocion were neglected; and the command of their forces entrusted to Lyficles, a man undistinguished by abilities; and Chares, with whose character the reader is by this time well acquainted. So earnest was Demosthenes for their departure, that he absolutely declared against waiting for the sacrifices and religious rites, which usually preceded all important transactions, and from which were derived the omens of success.

Æschin. in
Ctes.
sect. 42.

THE

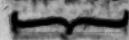
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THE king of Macedon, in the mean time, Sect. II.
 either to extricate himself from the uncertainty
 and difficulties of a contest, which now pro-
 mised vigour and importance; or to amuse, and
 to allay the heat which had been raised at Thebes,
 began to make some overtures towards an ac-
 commodation. Thebes was now the scene of
 all great transactions; and Demosthenes had,
 by this time, so strengthened his party, that he
 was emboldened to inveigh, with all imaginable
 violence, against any proposal of peace; and
 boldly declared, that he himself would drag the
 traitor to prison, who should dare to mention
 so shameful and dishonourable a measure. But,
 notwithstanding all such violent declarations,
 the chief magistrates and leaders at Thebes
 were apprehensive of the uncertain events of
 war, and considered a peace as a just and pru-
 dent medium between the invidious appearance
 of deserting the cause of Greece, and exposing
 their country to certain danger and distress.
 They therefore recommended a pacification to
 the Athenians, and actually countermanded
 their forces, who were now directing their march
 to Thebes. This obliged Demosthenes to ap-
 pear once more in the assembly, where he la-
 boured to inspire the people with the utmost
 aversion to these sentiments of their governors.
 All his arguments were repeated, and the mo-

*Æschin. in
 Ctes. sect.
 47.*

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tives of honour and glory urgently and frequently enforced. "If the Thebans," said he, "are still undetermined, still insensible of the common danger, still uninfluenced by the due affection to Greece, there is, at least one people that hath not yet forgot the glorious actions and generous principles of their ancestors. The Athenians, though deprived of all assistance, and abandoned by their countrymen, cannot be inattentive to the sacred cause of liberty; if left to support the contest by themselves, they must at least demand a free passage through the Theban territory, that by themselves they may march against the enemy of Greece, and gloriously fall in its defence."

Æschin. in
Ctes. sect.
47.

THIS last stroke put an end to all farther deliberations, and confirmed the Thebans unalterably in their resolution for war, and opposition to Macedon. The Athenian forces arrived at Thebes, and were received with every demonstration of affection and joy. While the Theban army, both infantry and cavalry, encamped without the walls, the Athenians were admitted into the city, received into the houses, and lodged among the wives and daughters of the citizens. And these forces, by the strictest discipline, and exactest regularity of conduct, confirmed and repaid

Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
63.

paid this extraordinary confidence. Demosthenes, who may justly be said to have been the soul of this great affair, the spirit which actuated the body of the confederates, was, on every occasion, consulted by the generals both of Thebes and Athens; and every measure taken, every disposition made, in consequence of his advice and approbation. This was not a time, as he wisely conceived, to contend, or raise disputes, about precedence, superiority, or any point of honour. The Thebans he freely permitted to hold the first rank, and to be considered as the principal and leading member of the confederacy. To their generals was committed the supreme command of all the land forces, who were yet obliged to act in concert with those of Athens. Two parts of the expence, attending the support of these forces, were paid by Athens; the remaining part by Thebes. The whole expence of all the maritime preparations the Athenians consented to support. The command was conferred alternately on the officers of each nation.

Sect. H.

Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
63.

Thus, by a timely condescension, by indulging the national vanity of the Thebans, and preventing them from being pressed by the burden of their present engagement, this vigilant

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and sagacious statesman effectually removed all jealousy; and, while he affected only to display the attention of his countrymen to the common cause, and their generous concern for Greece, gained, and firmly attached to their interest, powerful and zealous allies, who now seemed firmly possessed with all those generous sentiments of glory, liberty, and public spirit, which all the art and power of his eloquence had been employed to raise. Instead of trembling at the approach of Philip, and shrinking with an unmanly terror from the impending storm, the confederates now issued out boldly to meet the enemy, and encamped within two days march of the Macedonian army. Parties were, on different occasions, detached from each side, who sometimes met and encountered each other with violence and fury. In two of these engagements, which happened at some interval from each other, as the season of the year seems to have, for some time, prevented any grand operations: the Macedonians were driven back to the camp, and the honour of these successes ascribed principally to the conduct and valour of the Athenians. The news was received at Athens with that extravagance of triumph, which plainly indicated the levity of the people, and the weakness of their state. The temples were instantly

Dem. pro
Ctes. sect.
63.

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instantly opened, the tumultuous crowds rushed in with sacrifices and thanksgivings, and the whole city was filled with feasting and rejoicing.

SECT. II.

PHILIP, on his part, must have looked with a just contempt on all this exultation: well knowing, that the bravery and spirit of his enemies wanted that direction which might enable them to improve their advantages. Conscious of his own abilities, and the weakness of those generals who commanded the Greeks, he determined to bring on a general engagement, where his superiour skill must appear of the greatest moment. For this purpose, he took a favourable opportunity of decamping, and led his army to the plain of Chaeronea, a name rendered famous by the event of this important contest. Here he chose his station, in view of a temple dedicated to Hercules the author of his race, as if resolved to fight in his presence, to make him witness of the actions of his descendant, and to commit his forces, and his cause, to the immediate protection of this hero. Some ancient oracles were preserved, which seemed to point out the spot on which he now encamped, as the scene of some dreadful calamity to Greece. One of these oracles was expressed in the following manner:

Plut. in vit.
Dem.

D d 4

From

Book V. [A] From dire Thermódon, where the brave shall
 bleed,

Quick let me leap to air, with eagle-speed;
 Far from the horrid scene; from danger far;

And thence securely view the distant war:
 Where boundless woes shall wait the vanquish'd
 host,

And where the victor's hardy self is lost.

ANOTHER was thus conceived;

[B] Ye vultures, fed by war's tremendous waste,

Fly to Thermódon, there expect the feast:

There riot largely o'er the sanguine plain,

Which death shall amply load, and horrid carnage
 stain.

Plut. in vit.
 Dem.

THE word Thermódon was of doubtful signi-
 fication; but whether it was understood as a
 statue of an ancient hero, which was found near
 this plain, or was the old name of a rivulet,
 which ran along the front of Philip's camp, and
 fell into the river Cephissus, the general purport
 of the oracles was the same. And these circum-
 stances, frivolous as they may appear, were
 very capable of inspiring confidence in an igno-

[A] Της ἐπὶ Θερμῶδον μάχης ἀπανυθὶ γυναικῶν
 Αἰετός ἐν νεφύσιν καὶ ἡρὶ θηροσθαι.
 Κλαίει ὁ πεηθὺς ὁ δὲ περσας ἀπολαλεῖ.

[B] Τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμῶδον μάχην μὴ παμμελὲς ὄρη,
 Τὴν τοι κρεῖα πολλὰ παρυστοῖαι ἀνδρωποῖσι.

rant

rant and superstitious people. Omens, prodigies, and predictions, were ever found of singular use to governours and generals; and Philip had too much policy, too just notions of mankind, to despise those arts, or to neglect any advantage which the prejudices of his people might afford him in a conjuncture so exceedingly critical.

Secr. II.

His army was now formed of thirty-two thousand men, warlike, disciplined, and long inured to the toils and dangers of the field: but this body was composed of different nations and countries, who had each their distinct and separate views and interests. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty thousand complete; of which the Athenians and Thebans furnished the greatest part; the rest was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians. The same motives, and the same zeal, influenced and animated them. All were equally affected by the event, and all equally resolved to conquer or to die in defence of liberty. In this respect they had greatly the advantage: but supineness, inattention, and corruption, had still that fatal influence, and still so far weakened and defeated the noblest resolution of the Greeks, that the command of this illustrious body was, unhappily, intrusted to men utterly unworthy of so important a charge; men elevated to this station,

not

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not by the experience of their abilities, not by a reputation purchased by toils and difficulties, and brave achievements, but by the power of faction, and the secret practices of intrigue. On the contrary, their enemies were commanded by a prince rendered illustrious by a long series of victories and great achievements, whose abilities and renown inspired his soldiers with the utmost confidence and firmest assurances of victory.

Plut. de
Discrim.
inter. Adul.
et Amis.
p. 70.

On the eve of the decisive day, while each party was preparing to assert their ancient honours, engaged in all those occupations which the great business required, filled with anxious expectation, and each man animating his fellow-soldier with fair hopes of victory, Diogenes the famous Cynic, who beheld this great commotion with an indifference, and insensibility to the interests of mankind, which he called philosophy, was led by curiosity to visit the camps, as an unconcerned spectator, in order to observe the different emotions and behaviour of so many people, who were now preparing for a great and important engagement. In the Macedonian camp, where his character and person were not known, he was stopped by the guards, and conducted to Philip's tent. The king expressed surprise at a stranger's presuming to approach

his

PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

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his camp, and asked, with severity, whether he came as a spy: "Yes," said Diogenes, "I am come to spy your vanity and ambition, who thus wantonly set your life and kingdom to the hazard of an hour."

Sacr. II.

AND now the fatal morning appeared, which was for ever to decide the cause of liberty, and the empire of Greece. Before the rising of the sun, both armies were ranged in order of battle. The Thebans, commanded by Theagines, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and suspected of corruption, obtained the post of honour on the right wing of the confederated Greeks, with that famous body in front, called the SACRED BAND, formed of generous and warlike youths, connected and endeared to each other by all the noble enthusiasm of love and friendship. The center was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians; and the Athenians composed the left wing, led by their two generals Lyficles and Chares, or Stratocles according to the orators. On the left of the Macedonian army stood Alexander, at the head of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thessaly. As this prince was then but nineteen years old, his father was careful to curb his youthful impetuosity, and to direct his valour; and, for this purpose,

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 36.
Dinarch. in
Dem.

Plut. in Pe-
lop.

Strabo,
l. 9. p. 474.

Oliv. l. 15.
p. 368.

sur-

Book V.

Diod. Sic.
at supra.

surrounded him with a number of experienced officers. In the center were placed those Greeks who had united with Philip, and on whose courage he had the least dependance; while the king himself commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx stood to oppose the impetuosity with which the Athenians were well known to begin their onset.

Plot. in
Alex.Plot. in
Pelop.

The charge began, on each side, with all the courage and violence, which ambition, revenge, the love of glory, and the love of liberty, could excite in the several combatants. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, first fell, with all the fury of youthful courage, on the sacred band of Thebes, which sustained his attack with a bravery and vigour worthy of its former fame. The gallant youths, who composed this body, not timely, or not duly, supported by their countrymen, bore up for a while against the torrent of the enemy, till at length, oppressed and overpowered by superiour numbers, without yielding or turning their backs on their assailants, they sunk down on that ground where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his darling friend, raising up a bulwark, by their bodies, against the progress of the enemy. But the young prince and his forces, in all the enthusiastic ardour of courage
animated

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animated by success, pushed on through the carnage, and over all the heaps of the slain, and fell furiously on the main body of the Thebans, where they were opposed with an obstinate and deliberate valour; and the contest was, for some time, supported with mutual violence.

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THE Athenians, at the same time, on the right wing, fought with a spirit and intrepidity worthy of the character which they boasted, and of the cause by which they were animated. Many brave efforts were exerted on each side, and success was for some time doubtful, till at length part of the center, and the left wing of the Macedonians (except the phalanx) yielded to the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with some precipitation. Happy had it been on that day for Greece, if the conduct and abilities of the Athenian generals had been equal to the spirit of their soldiers: but the brave champions of liberty, were led on by the despicable creatures of intrigue and cabal. Transported by the advantage now obtained, the presumptuous Lyficles cried out, "Come on, my gallant countrymen! the victory is our's, let us pursue these cowards, and drive them to Macedon!" and thus, instead of improving their happy opportunity, by charging the phalanx,

Polyaen.
l. 4. c. 2.

Book V.

Polyæn.
l. 4. c. 2.Plut. in
Demost.

phalanx in flank, and so breaking this formidable body, the Athenians wildly and precipitately pressed forward, in pursuit of the flying enemy, themselves in all the tumult and disorder of a rout. Philip saw this fatal error with the contempt of a skilful general, and the secret exultation arising from the assurance of approaching victory. He coolly observed to those officers who stood round him, that "the Athenians knew not how to conquer;" and ordered his phalanx to change its position, and, by a sudden evolution, to gain possession of an adjacent eminence. From hence they marched deliberately down, firm and collected, and fell, with their united force, on the Athenians now confident of success, and blind to their danger. The shock was irresistible: they were at once overwhelmed: many of them lay crushed by the weight of the enemy, and expiring by their wounds, while the rest escaped from the dreadful slaughter, by a shameful and precipitate flight, bearing down, and hurrying away with them, those troops which had been stationed for their support. And here the renowned orator and statesman, whose noble sentiments, and spirited harangues, had raised the courage on this day so eminently exerted, betrayed that weakness which hath sullied his great character. He alone, of all his countrymen, advanced to the charge

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charge cold and dismayed; and, at the very first appearance of a reverse of fortune, in an agony of terrour, turned his back, cast away that shield which he had adorned with this inscription in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE; and appeared foremost in the general rout. The ridicule and malice of his enemies related, or perhaps invented, another shameful circumstance; that, being impeded in his flight by some brambles, his imagination was so possessed with the presence of an enemy, that he loudly cried out for mercy.

Scroll II.

Plot. ΔΗΜ.
Hec. Nemesius.
Vit. X.
Orat.

WHILE Philip was thus triumphant on his side, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke the Thebans, in spite of all their acts of valour, who now fled from the field, and were pursued with great carnage. The center of the confederates was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But enough of slaughter had already been made: more than one thousand of the Athenians lay dead on the field of battle, and two thousand were made prisoners: and the loss of the Thebans was not inferiour. Philip therefore determined to conclude his important victory, by an act of apparent clemency, which his ambition and policy really dictated; and gave orders that the Greeks should be spared;

Diod. Sic.
ut supra.
Paul. in
Att. p. 215.

con-

Book V.

conscious of his designs, and still expecting to appear, in the field, the head and leader of that body which he had now completely subdued.

Thus fell the great and illustrious nation of GREECE; and, in one fatal day, saw her honours and liberties wrested from her by a people, who had, for ages, acknowledged her superiority, and courted her protection. The virtues of her sons had raised them to the full meridian of glory; thence had they gradually declined by their corruptions, and, having for a while retained some degree of strength and splendour, now set for ever. That vital heat which animated them, which called forth and cherished their abilities, and inflamed and invigorated their minds with great and generous sentiments, was extinguished. Some faint glimmerings were, for a while, to remain, till darkness and barbarity, which now began their reign, gradually advanced and prevailed, and, at length, totally overspread their once happy land. An alarming example to all future nations, who may, like Greece, boast their liberty, and, like Greece in its degenerate state, retain only the shadow of that liberty; and, while they fondly triumph in the actions of their fathers, and are vainly elevated by a dangerous national pride, suffer luxury, venality, and licentiousness, to destroy the

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the spirit, and prey upon the vitals, of their constitution. These hath Providence ever made their own severe punishment, from which the yet unextinguished remains of bravery and public spirit in a people can by no means secure them. Bravery and public spirit never were more eminently displayed, than in those Greeks who fought at Chaeronea; but they were exerted too late, and their vices and corruptions had deprived them of the necessary conduct and direction: so that the very remains of their virtue completed their ruin. They were led on rashly to slaughter by wretches insensible to the inestimable value of their lives; and thus the ardour for liberty, which still inflamed them, only served to load the field of battle with carnage. But let posterity regard the faults of these illustrious men with an humane tenderness and compassion, and learn a just value for those noble principles, which, even in a degenerate state, could produce such glorious effects: and, while they admire the policy and abilities which thus subdued them, let them also learn to regard, with just detestation, that insatiable ambition, that unwarrantable lust of power and grandeur, which casts a false and flattering lustre round the great scourges of mankind.

WITH all that horrid triumph and exultation in the destruction of his opposers, which are felt

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E c

by

Book V.

by the idolizers of false heroism, was the king of Macedon now indulged. The power which he had purchased by a long series of painful labours, both of mind and body, he saw completely secured; and his fancy was possessed, not with the hopes of tranquillity, but with all the dazzling prospects of an ever restless ambition, with the expectations of new and more important conquests.

The evening of the battle closed the havoc; and Philip received the congratulations of his officers, whom he invited, together with the ambassadors of his allies, to a magnificent entertainment. Some of the most eminent Athenian prisoners, and they who had been deputed to demand their dead, were politely invited to share in his feast, which was for some time continued with decency and well corrected joy. At length the Athenian deputies retired, and Philip and his Macedonians began to give a freer course to their gaiety and festivity, which were continued to the approach of day. And now it was proposed to visit the field of battle; and, for this purpose, the king and all his company issued forth, crowned with their festal garlands, and, by this time, inflamed with wine.

Diod. Sic. l.
26. sect. 86.

To that quarter they first came where the Thebans had engaged. Here they beheld the bodies

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bodies of those three hundred, who, in their lives, had been united by the ties of sacred friendship, united also in their deaths, all in the order in which they had originally stood against their enemies, and all gloriously stained with the genuine marks of an honourable, though unfortunate, valour. The affecting sight struck their conquerors with awe and veneration. Philip himself hung over them in wonder and pity. Ambition, that steals the heart of man, and renders him insensible to the miseries of his fellow-creatures, for a while, lost all its influence: he melted into tears; and, raising his hands in admiration of the virtue of these gallant Thebans, pronounced a solemn curse on those who could be base enough to suspect their friendship of any thing criminal or infamous.

From thence they proceeded to that part of the field in which the Athenians had fought. The scene at once struck the king of Macedon with a violent impression of his late danger, the happiness of his escape, and the importance of his success. Transported by the thought, he, in that moment, forgot his dignity, and, with a weak and ridiculous triumph, bounded from the earth, and began, with an insulting mockery, to sing out the late declaration of war which Demosthenes had drawn up. His courtiers were too

E c 2

indulgent

Sect. II.

Plut. in

Philop.

Plut. in
Demost.

Book V.

Diod. Sic. 1.
26. sect. 86.Plut. in
Demosth.
Lucian.
Enc. De-
most.

indulgent to their master to dare to recal him to himself, or to hint at the weakness and unworthiness of this conduct. But Demades, the Athenian orator, who was his prisoner, and now attended him, was not yet so inured to slavery, as to restrain his indignation. "Sir," said he, with the liberty of an Athenian, "you are acting the part of Thersites, when fortune had enabled you to appear in that of Agamemnon." No rebuke could possibly have been more flattering to Philip, who really hoped to appear in Asia at the head of the Greeks, like that ancient king. It at once awakened him from his extravagance: he blushed, and cast to the ground the chaplet of flowers which adorned his brows: with the warmest expressions of friendship and esteem he instantly pronounced Demades free; and led back his crowd of revellers to his tent, where they resumed their places at the table with reserve and seriousness. The conversation now began to appear more worthy of greatness. The king took notice of the imminent danger to which he had been exposed, and which he had so fortunately escaped; the immense abilities and influence of one single speaker, which had raised so many enemies against him, and which had appeared almost a complete counterpoise against the whole power of Macedon. His flatterers observed, with an officious zeal and obsequiousness, with what

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what superiority of abilities he had now surmounted all these difficulties; that his enemies were prostrate at his feet; on his nod their fate depended: and that nothing was wanting to complete his vengeance, but to march to Athens, that insolent and presumptuous city, which had raised this opposition, and called him forth to the field, and now justly merited the full severity of his power; that his honour and his tranquillity equally obliged him to crush that turbulent state, and to rase its walls to their foundations. But Philip, whose views were juster, and his policy more extensive, received the proposal with disdain. "Have I encountered all these toils and dangers for glory," said he, "and shall I destroy the theatre of that glory?" "The gods forbid it!"

Plot. in
Apophth.

From this time, all his actions were regularly influenced by those great designs of conquest, which he meditated, and which now seemed ripening to execution. He laboured, by every appearance of moderation and condescension, to gain the affections of the conquered Greeks. He dismissed the Athenian deputies with full permission to perform the funeral rites to the honour of their dead; and their prisoners he also ordered to be set at liberty, without any ransom. To this favour these prisoners boldly desired that he

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
86.

Just. l. 9.
c. 4.

Diod. ut
supra.

Sect. 87.

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Plut. in
Apophth.Just. l. 9.
f. 4.

would be pleased to add that of restoring their baggage. "Indeed!" cried Philip, smiling; "these men imagine that I have only conquered them at some sport," and then graciously complied with their request. The Thebans, indeed, were not treated with the same lenity. While he shewed a general disposition to clemency and condescension, he imagined that his dignity required him to discover some sense of their ingratitude (for so was their conduct deemed by Philip and his adherents), and, by a seasonable instance of his severity, to intimidate those of his confederates who might be tempted to revolt from him. The Thebans, therefore, he obliged to purchase both their dead and their prisoners: the principal leaders and partisans, who had opposed his interest in Thebes, he punished with death, or banishment, and confiscation; and three hundred exiles, who had suffered for their adherence to his cause, were instantly ordered home, and intrusted with the public affairs, and the administration of government [c].

AT

[c] THEIR first act of power (as it is represented by Justin, in loc. cit.) was to summon the most eminent of the opposite party to the tribunal, in order to inquire into the authors of their banishment. These, with a resolution worthy of their former fortune, avowed this pretended crime, in which they all claimed a share, as their greatest honour. "Thus," saith the historian, "with a surprising courage, they,

AT Athens the people indulged themselves in the most pleasing and flattering hopes, when the news of Philip's victory arrived, to render the city a scene of tumult and consternation. The assembly, which was now convened, resounded with clamour and confusion, revilings and accusations, every pretender to politics bellowing out his invectives against weak measures and wicked conduct, and urging his advice, as to the course to be pursued in this state of terrible distress and danger. Hyperides, the famous orator, proposed a decree, that the rights of Athenian citizens should be granted to all strangers who should take up arms in defence of Athens; that the slaves should be set at liberty, and armed; that all Athenians, who had been declared infamous, should be restored to their rank and honours; that the women, and all the sacred things, should be shut up in the Piræus; that the walls and fortifications should be repaired, and every provision made to maintain a siege. This decree he acknowledged to be, in several articles, contrary to law; but the arms of Macedon, he observed, bore down all the authority of their

SECT. II.

Dem. de
Corón. sect.
57.

Plut. in X.
Orat. Vit.
Hyper.

“they, to the utmost of their power, passed sentence against
“the men who sat in judgment on them; and who were
“arbiters of their life and death: despised all pardon which
“their enemies could grant them; and, as they could not
“by their actions avenge themselves, in their words at least,
“preserved the remains of freedom.”

Book V.

laws. The present violent impression of danger, and the apparent necessity of affairs, obliged the people to ratify this decree, however disagreeable to their pride, or repugnant to their ancient constitution: and, when the orator was afterwards accused, on account of this illegal motion, he found the following short defence sufficient, "Men of Athens! It was not Hyperides, but the defeat at Chaeronea, which made this decree."

Plut. in
Phocion.

THE choice of a commander was considered as a matter of the utmost moment; the corrupt, and those who had long been used to govern the people by intrigue and clamour, contended violently for Charidemus: but the best and gravest of the citizens, sensible of the importance of such a trust in this time of peril, prevailed on the senate of Areopagus to interpose their authority. These venerable magistrates, attended by a number of Athenians, eminent by their stations, and respected for their virtues, appeared in the assembly, and, with tears, intreated the people to name Phocion their general. Their authority had the due weight; and this faithful and experienced old soldier, who had been shamefully laid aside when his abilities might have saved his country from ruin, was now appointed

pointed to command the forces of Athens, when it was too late to perform any effectual service.

Sacr. II.

THE fate of this city was generally considered as desperate: all Greece expected every moment to hear that it was invested and destroyed: the people of Attica, who supposed that the enemy was preparing to invade them with fire and sword, crowded with terror and dismay to shelter themselves within the walls of Athens; and, as a total stop was instantly put to all commerce, these additional numbers served to increase the present confusion and distress, by the want of provisions which they naturally produced.

Dem. de
Coron.
sect. 59.

ISOCRATES, who had ever entertained a favourable opinion of Philip, and frequently assured his countrymen of the sincerity and integrity of this prince, was so affected by the present reverse of fortune, that he determined not to survive the ruin of his countrymen; and without waiting to find what use the Macedonian would make of his victory, died, by voluntary abstinence, at the age of near one hundred years.

Plut. X.
Orat. Isocr.
crat.

LYSICLES

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Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 88.

LYSICLES was now returned, covered with shame and disgrace; universally detested as the immediate cause of the late misfortune; and regarded as a victim due to the shades of those brave men, whose lives he had so wantonly and weakly lavished. He was hauled to the tribunal, where Lycurgus the orator, a man justly esteemed for his eminent worth, and respectable by the high offices he had borne, undertook the prosecution of this rash and ignorant general. No tedious inquiry, no laboured harangues, no formal course of testimonies and examinations, were required on this occasion. "The Athenians," said Lycurgus, addressing himself to the criminal, "have been totally defeated in a general engagement. One thousand of our youth have fallen on the field of battle; two thousand have been made prisoners. The enemy hath erected a trophy to the eternal dishonour of Athens; and Greece is now ready to receive the dreadful yoke of slavery. You were the commander on that fatal day: and you yet live: you enjoy the sun's light: you appear in our public places, the monument of the disgrace and calamity of your country."—This short process was sufficient: the rest was supplied by the quickness of conception, and indignation of his hearers: and Lysicles, mute and confounded, and

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and conscious of his fatal error, was led away Sect. II.
to instant execution.

It might be expected, from the natural temper of the Athenians, and from the present ferment, that Demosthenes would have been regarded as the principal cause of their present calamity; and that, at the very moment when he first appeared, the people would have given way to the emotions of fury and resentment, and have torn the orator in pieces; yet, at this so critical conjuncture, neither their own fatal disappointment, nor the calumnies of his enemies, could prevent them from doing justice to his zeal and honourable counsels. In him they still confided; and by him were solely directed. All the precautions taken, by stationing their guards, raising their walls, and strengthening their works, were in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to furnish provisions, and to repair their fortifications: and this latter commission he executed with a generosity, which reflected the greatest honour on him; and for which, by a decree proposed by Ctesiphon, (that famous decree which occasioned those two orations of the great rivals Æschines and Demosthenes, the wonder and delight of all ages and nations that were ever blessed with literature) he was honoured with a golden crown, as a re-

Plot. in
Dem.

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
74.

Sect. 35.

Reas. V.

Plot. Paral.
inter Dem.
et Cic.

ward of his public spirit, in expending a considerable sum on the public works out of his own private fortune, which, in this time of calamity, he gave freely to the state. By this it should seem, that the passionate love of money, of which he is accused, (though he might not have been always delicate in the means of gratifying it) was yet not of the sordid kind, but subservient to another more honourable passion.

* Hist. Anc.
vol. 3. 4to,
p. 525.

THE Athenians, saith the ingenuous French historian * Rollin, a people naturally fickle and wavering, ever disposed to punish their own errors and omissions in the persons of those statesmen whose schemes they had themselves rendered ineffectual by their tediousness and delays in execution, by thus crowning Demosthenes in the midst of public misfortunes, of which he appeared the sole author, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this proceeding, so full of wisdom and bravery, they seem, in some sort, to confess their own error, in having neither fully nor seasonably pursued his measures; and to acknowledge themselves alone guilty of their present disgraces.

BUT the Athenians did not stop here. Philip had now sent home the bones of those who had fallen at Chaeronea, that all due honours might be

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be paid to them; and even shewed such respect to the state, as to appoint his own son, and Antipater, his deputies on this occasion. The funeral rites of those brave unfortunate men were now prepared: and Demosthenes was the person chosen to pronounce their eulogium. In vain did Æschines and his adherents oppose this choice, which only served to confirm the people in their resolution, in which the friends and kinsmen of the deceased cheerfully concurred: and consented that the funeral supper, which was generally given in the house of some near relation, should now be held in that of Demosthenes. For (as he himself observes on this occasion) although many others were, privately, allied more nearly to one or other of the slain, yet, in a public capacity his connexion was the nearest, who had appeared most interested in their preservation, and must of consequence have been the most deeply affected by their fall. But all these honourable testimonies, paid to his integrity, could not allay the vexation which Demosthenes felt at the fatal event of his counsels. He considered himself as a man persecuted by fortune; nor would he now venture to propose any thing to the assembly in his own name; which he considered as inauspicious. In such a temper of mind he, perhaps, might not have been able to display his great abilities in his funeral

Sid. II.

Just. l. 9.

c. 4.

Dem. de
Coron. sect.
88.

Sec. 39.

Plut. in
Demost.

Book V. neral oration: nor is it necessary to suppose, that he must have been equally eminent in this species of eloquence, as in the deliberative and judicial kinds: yet we must concur with the general voice of the learned, in pronouncing this piece, which is preserved among his writings, and bears the title of his Funeral oration, totally unworthy to be regarded as the genuine composition of Demosthenes.

Oliv. l. 15.
p. 380.

In the epitaph, engraven on the monument erected to the illustrious deceased, the public grief is strongly marked by the length of it, which is entirely different from the ancient Attic simplicity. It was expressed in the following manner:

[P] THESE, for their country's sacred cause array'd
In arms, tremendous, fought the fatal plain:
Brav'd the proud foe with courage undismay'd,
And greatly scorn'd dishonour's abject stain.

[P] Οἱδὲ πατρὸς δόξα σφίσι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδίῳ
Ὀπλῶ, καὶ ἀντιπάλῳ ὕβρι ἀποκρίσασθαι
Μαραμῶσι δ' ἀσπίδας καὶ ἀσπίδας ἐν ἰσχυρῶν
Ψυχῶ, ἀλλ' αἰδῶν κοινῇ ἰδίῳ βραδύνῃ
Οὐκ ἐν Ἑλλήσιν, ὡς μὲν ζυγοὶ αὐχῶν θήσιν
Διηκοσίων συγγενῶν ἀποφίσι χρωσὶν ὕβριν.
Γαῖα δὲ πάλαι ἔχει καὶ ταῖς τῶν πλεονέκτων
Ἑσπέρῃ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἐν Διὶ οὐδὲ περισσῇ
Μὴδ' ἀμαρτίῃ ἐστὶ θῶν, καὶ πάντα καλοῦσθαι
Εἰ βίωτ' ἔμοιραν δ' ὕψι φέρων ἔπορην.

Fair

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Fair virtue led them to the arduous strife;

Indignant terror menac'd in their eyes.

For freedom nobly prodigal of life,

Death they propos'd their common glorious

price.

For never to tyrannic vile domain

Could they their generous necks ignobly bend,

Nor see Greece drag the odious servile chain,

And mourn her ancient glories at an end.

In the kind bosom of their parent-land,

Ceas'd are their toils, and peaceful is their

grave.

So Jove decreed (and Jove's supreme command

Acts unresisted; to destroy, or save.)

Chance to despise, and fortune to control,

Doth to the immortal gods alone pertain:

Their joys, unchang'd, in endless currents roll:

But mortals combat with their fate in vain.

THE Thebans were also careful to give an honourable interment to their dead, and, on their monument, placed a lion of marble, the symbol of their courage: but no inscription was engraved,

Pausan. in
Boet. p.
315.

engraved, possibly out of awe and respect to the conqueror.

ALEXANDER and Antipater were still at Athens, where they gave all possible assurances of Philip's gracious intentions, and his resolution to conclude a peace on terms entirely equitable and advantageous to the Athenian people.

Demad.
Orat. frag.

As an earnest of his friendship, he confirmed them in possession of Oropus, which the Thebans had, in the late alliance, at length consented to give up: but, as it was not consistent with his designs to leave them in possession of the empire of the sea, which might possibly tempt them to make some new efforts for the recovery of their power, he determined to make himself master of Samos. Thither he sent some forces: a carriage laden with stones was so contrived, that, under the pretence of being admitted through one of the gates of the city, which commanded that island, it there stopped, and was so engaged, that, at the approach of the Macedonians, the gates could not be shut; so that the enemy entered, and all resistance was vain.

Frontin. l.
3. c. 3.

THE seizing of Samos, one of their most favourite islands, was the first mortifying stroke that

that made the Athenians sensible of their fall: yet peace was still offered to them on such terms as could not but be regarded as favourable and advantageous. Their laws, their constitution, and their territories, as far as to the isle of Samos, were all left to them; and the only condition, required on the part of the conqueror, was, that they should send their deputies to appear in a general council, which Philip had appointed to assemble at Corinth, on an affair in which every state of Greece was equally interested. Phocion, though by no means averse to peace, yet declared it as his opinion, that the people should not explain themselves on this last article, until the particulars of Philip's scheme, and the intent of this assembly, were laid before them. But now Demades was returned at the head of those prisoners, who had been treated with so much generosity by Philip. The kindness, the condescension, the lenity, the moderation, of this prince, were all displayed, by these men, in the fairest and most advantageous colours; and Demades, in particular, urged the people to comply with the terms proposed by Philip, which gratitude, and the necessity of their affairs, equally recommended to them. His opinion prevailed, and ambassadors were sent to the king of Macedon to ratify the treaty of peace. Among these was one Demochares,

S. CT. II.
OLIV. I. 15.
P. 329.

Plut. in
Phocion.

Seneca de
ira, c. 23.

chares, a rude and ridiculous pretender to boldness and freedom of speech. He and his colleagues were received with all politeness; and the affair concluded without delay or difficulty. When they were on the point of departure, and admitted to an audience, in order to take leave in due form; Philip, who was ever lavish of his professions of friendship, asked them, in an obliging manner, if there was any particular in which he could further gratify the Athenians. "Yes," said Demochares, "hang thyself." The indignation of all those, who were witnesses of this unpardonable rudeness, was loud and violent: but the king soon silenced their clamour. "Let this ridiculous brawler," said he, "depart unmolested;" and, addressing himself to the other ambassadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that they, who can utter such outrages, are much less inclined to peace and moderation than he who can pardon them."

His courtiers and friends in vain endeavoured to take the advantage of this insolence, in order to irritate him against Athens. He was unalterably attentive to his great point, and still resolved, that no provocation should tempt him to hazard the success of it. The general of the Hellenic body was the character in which he judged he should appear with the greatest lustre: and,

and, in order to be invested with the full power of this character, to reconcile a people to his command, as yet unaccustomed to obey, he justly conceived, that a general opinion of his clemency and greatness of mind was absolutely necessary. This was the true meaning of his favourite maxim, "That he would rather appear for a long time kind and beneficent, than absolute for a little time [E]."

Plut. in
Apophth.

[E] It may not be thought unworthy of observation, that, during all the late transactions, all the course of great events, by which the state of Athens was so intimately affected, a number of Athenian citizens, of some rank and distinction, were found so totally insensible to the interests, the dangers, and distresses of their country, that they formed themselves into a kind of club, or society, which was called THE SIXTY, and employed their time in feasting, drinking, and gaming, and in the sprightly and satirical exercises of wit and pleasantry. No public affair whatever was considered by this set of men, as of consequence enough to interrupt the mirth, or disturb the tranquillity, of their order. They saw their countrymen arming for battle; they heard of their captivity and death with an absolute indifference. Events and actions of the most serious nature seem to be treated, by these hardened wretches, with wantonness and levity. Their fame reached even to Macedon; and Philip, who, both by policy and inclination, was engaged to encourage such a society, presented them with a talent to assist their festivity, and to induce them to send him some productions of their wit.

ATHENAEUS, l. 14. p. 614.

Sec. II.

and in order to be invested with the full power of this character, to reconcile a people to his command, as yet unaccustomed to obey, he justly conceived, that a general opinion of his clemency and greatness of mind was absolutely necessary. This was the true meaning of his favourite maxim, "I have no sword rather than a spear for a long time kind and benignant than absolute for a little time [?]"

[?] it may not be thought unworthy of observation, that during all the late revolutions, all the courts of great states, by which the face of Athens was so violently affected, a number of Athenian citizens, of various rank and abilities, were found to totally insensible to the interests, the danger, and distresses of their country, that they formed themselves into a kind of club or society, which was called the *Stoichei*, and employed their time in talking, drinking, and gaming, and in the frigid and satirical exercises of wit and philosophy. The public affairs, however, were considered by this set of men, as of consequence enough to interfere the mind, or disturb the tranquillity, of their order. They saw their countrymen, running for prizes, they heard of their captivities and sales, with an indolent indifference. However, and actions of the most ferocious nature seem to be treated by these hardened wretches, with weariness and torpor. Their ears reached even to blood, and Philip, who, both by policy and inclination, was desirous to court such a society, pursued them with a violent and their activity, and to induce them to feel and long for the freedom of their wit.

BOOK V. SECTION III.

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—mestic dissensions.—Alexander and Olympias return to Macedon.—Pexodorus, king of Caria, offers his daughter in marriage to Aridaeus.—Alexander's jealousy;—his secret design,—discovered and defeated by Philip.—Alexander and Olympias still irritated.—Attalus abuses Pausanias,—who complains to Philip, but is denied justice.—Pausanias impatient for revenge;—is irritated against the king by the emissaries of Olympias,—by Alexander,—by the secret emissaries of Persia.—His discourse with Hermocrates.—The war against Persia commenced.—Philip consults the oracle.—The answer.—Marriage of Philip's daughter with Alexander of Epirus.—Solemn festival at Agae.—Flattery of the Grecian states.—Remarkable passages from a tragic poet repeated by Neoptolemus.—Solemn procession to the theatre.—Death of PHILIP.—Honours paid to the memory of his murderer.—Philip's virtues and vices resolved into his ruling passion.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

SECTION III.

WE have already seen the king of Macedonia contending with his neighbours, confirming his power, and enlarging his dominions; corrupting and deceiving the states of Greece; occasionally fomenting or allaying their jealousies and animosities; first uniting his kingdom to that great and honourable body which they formed; and, at length, by one important victory, creating himself the head of that body. We are now to view him preparing to act in this glorious character, and to lead the powers of Greece into Asia: elevated with the mighty hopes of shaking the throne of the great king of Persia.

BOOK V.
SECT. III.

THE weak and injudicious attempt of Xerxes to conquer Greece had inspired its several inhabitants with the warmest resentment and impatience for revenge; which the Persians themselves, by their corruptions, contributed to keep alive. When princes, either through inatten-

See Note on
the Hist. of
Philip, in
Univ. Hist.

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tion, defect of judgment, or the want of virtue, suffer their subjects to sink into all the excesses of effeminate luxury; from such subjects they are not to expect generous sentiments, or great and gallant actions. Ruin and slavery, the natural and necessary consequences of such corruptions, must, at last, fall with all their weight to crush the men who abandon themselves to the selfish and sensual passions. Politicians may, for a while, suspend these fatal effects, by introducing foreign forces to defend those who have lost that spirit which should prompt them to fight their own battles: but this, although it may delay, only serves to render their destruction surer. Such was the case of the Persians: they hired Grecian troops; they maintained them in the exercise of their discipline; they made them intimately acquainted with their country and their manners, witnesses of their errors, their corruptions, and their weakness. When at any time these Greeks returned into their own country, they never failed to expatiate on these with contempt and indignation; and were eternally prompting and encouraging their fellow-citizens to march against their old enemy, and to subvert that unwieldy empire, which was already on the point of sinking under its own weight.

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REPRESENTATIONS of this kind had been ever pleasing and flattering to the Greeks. We find Cleomenes, a Spartan king, had long since listened to such overtures. Agésilas, one of his successors, proceeded yet farther, and, with an inconsiderable army, gave law to the lieutenants of the great king. It is true, he did not openly profess a design of conquering the whole empire, but that he really intended no less, may be collected from his affecting to sacrifice in the same manner with Agamemnon, when he entered on his expedition; which seemed to imply a design of emulating that ancient king, who had not only charred, but subverted, Troy. The like design is thought to have been formed by Jason of Thessaly, when a conspiracy put an end to the life of that able prince. The Persians were conscious both of their own weakness, and the strength of their enemy; or, at least, were frequently reminded of these alarming truths. The actions of the famous ten thousand in particular, gave them a terrible intimation of their danger, who had followed the younger Cyrus as far as to Babylon, and who, when they had lost their commanders, without guides, without provisions, had yet disdained to surrender; conceived and executed the stupendous design of traversing all Asia Minor, in view of such superiour numbers; and returned

SECT. III.

Hered.
l. v. 49.
50.

Plut. in
Agésil.

Xen. Hæc.
Croc. l. 6.

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to their own country, triumphant over all the various difficulties and dangers which they encountered in their tedious march. Wisely therefore had the Persians long laboured to foment the disorders of Greece, to arm one state against its neighbour, to keep up the balance between both, and to divide that force, which, if once united, threatened them with destruction. But the time was now come, when a superiour power had put an end to all the dissensions of Greece; when a prince of valour and abilities, capable of conducting the greatest and boldest enterprises, supported by numerous and well-disciplined armies, and assisted by wise and faithful ministers, and brave and experienced officers, was the head, the leader, and commander, of the whole Grecian power, without any rival to control or obstruct his vast designs.

Olym. 110.

Y. 4.

Justin. l. 9.

c. 5.

Diod. Sic.

l. 16.

sect. 89.

THIS prince, who, ever since his late victory, had omitted no means of securing the affections of all the Greeks, was now at Corinth, where the deputies of the states attended [A], and were pre-

[A] On this occasion probably it was, that the deputies expressed some impatience, when Philip lay a-bed longer than usual one morning, when they were appointed to attend him. "You need not wonder," said Parmenio, "that my master sleeps, while you are awake: for, while
" you

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pared to receive his overtures. The grand assembly was convened, and here Philip publicly declared the design which he had for some time formed of marching into Asia, to destroy that monarchy, which had ever been formidable to Greece, notwithstanding all the signal victories she had gained over Persia. He had eloquence and address to animate them to the undertaking; to set all their ancient glory full in view; to inflame all their national prejudices and animosities against their great enemy; to remind them of the glorious attempts of some particular states and generals, even when Greece was divided and distracted; and to confirm them in the fairest and greatest expectations of success, now, when the whole force of this brave nation was to be exerted against a people enervated by luxury, and depressed by slavery. He concluded with demanding the honour to which he aspired, that of being nominated their leader and general in this expedition: and desired that the assembly should regulate the contingent, which each state was to furnish; while he, on his part, engaged to employ all the forces of his kingdom in this glorious cause.

“you slept, he was waking.”—(Plot. Apophth.)—The answer could never have been made with more propriety than at this time.

THE

THE several deputies, gained by Philip's presents and caresses, or influenced by their national prejudices, received these propositions with acclamation and applause. A war against the Persians, who had profaned and destroyed the Grecian temples, was considered as a kind of religious war, which seemed naturally to devolve to a prince who had already been crowned with such extraordinary success in his attempts to vindicate the honour of the gods: nor could any man of this time be supposed so capable of undertaking the conduct of this arduous enterprise, as the renowned king of Macedon. All the Grecians were sensible, and some by melancholy experience, that, in the knowledge of military affairs, no man could stand in competition with Philip. Vigilance, address, quickness in execution, authority in commanding [B], the art of forming

[B] "DISCIPLINE," say the authors of the Universal History, in a Note on the history of Philip, "under the eye of an able general, renders troops invincible, but, under officers of smaller abilities, is far from being of such high advantage. Men of inferior genii have no ideas of those changes which the alterations introduced by time require; and therefore, by adhering too scrupulously to old rules, ruin themselves, and those under their command."—To this we are perhaps warranted by observation to add, that a scrupulous regard to systematical rules, and pedantically reducing war to a science, sometimes proves a fatal enemy to that enthusiastic ardour, some spark of

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forming and disciplining forces, deep penetration, indefatigable vigour, and consummate valour, were all so conspicuous in this exalted character, that it was impossible for them to hesitate a moment in the choice of a commander. As to the expedition itself, it was the darling object of all those who were pleased with the recollection of the great actions of their ancestors. The Grecian colonies of Asia, who had long groaned under the Persian yoke, fired with the prospect of recovering their independence, seem to have urged every motive that might animate the zeal of the assembly, and prompt the Greeks to this great attempt. The Arcadian deputies alone had the boldness to oppose their voice to the general sense of the assembly, and to declare against conferring the command on Philip, but were soon silenced and discouraged: and, if any remains of envy, or cold and wary policy, still continued to damp the

Diod. Sic.
l. 17.
sect. 3.

Oliv. l. 16.
p. 397. Plut.

of which must necessarily have a share in greatness of all kinds, and particularly in military greatness. Where the lively sense of honour is wanting, and the true patriot-spirit which should animate a soldier, it may serve to extinguish the sense of shame, and the fear of disgrace, by affording a fair pretence for justifying an instance of inactive conduct, or the declining an hazardous and dangerous enterprise.— But, when an exact knowledge of the military art is united with more elevated qualities, then it becomes really valuable.

general

general ardour, these were at once removed by the representations of Dius the Ephesian, who now appeared at Corinth, possibly to support the interests of the Asiatic settlements, and urged it as absolutely necessary to suffer Philip to lead the Greeks against the Persian, in order to preserve some appearance of their former liberty.

Thus was this momentous affair determined without any considerable difficulty. The number of forces, which each particular state was to supply, came in the next place to be ascertained. The whole amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, exclusive of the Macedonians: a prodigious force, of which Greece had, till now, no just idea. When this nation assembled its armies at the isthmus of Corinth, against those Persian forces which burnt Athens, no more than fourscore thousand men could be led into the field.

Justin. l. 9.
c. 4.

Oliv. l. 16.
p. 398.

THE Athenians, at first, approved of this mighty project, and of the nomination of the prince chosen to direct it. By the resolution of the assembly, they were obliged not only to furnish men, but, as a maritime power, to assist the great leader, in this cause, with their ships and

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and naval stores; and were now called upon to comply with this resolution; a stroke terribly mortifying to their vanity. They looked back

SECT. III.

Plot. in

Phoc.

with pain and regret to that state from which they had fallen, and felt their present subjection and dependence with an impotent and impatient vexation. Clamour, repining, grief, remorse,

and despair, filled their assembly; sensible of the superiority of the Macedonian, yet ashamed to acknowledge it; and, pierced with a sense of their misfortunes, yet incapable of retrieving them. In the midst of their dejection, Phocion,

their faithful citizen, who, in the days of their pride, had been frequently neglected and disregarded, now appeared their only comforter, when his usual severity could be of service no longer. "Men of Athens," said he, "I fore-

"saw these things which are now the subject of

"your complaints; and, for this reason, I op-

"posed your appearing in that assembly, till we

"should be particularly informed for what pur-

"poses it was convened. My advice was then

"rejected, and it is now too late to deliberate:

"you have engaged, and must abide by the

"consequences. Support this reverse of for-

"tune with becoming resolution. Imitate your

"generous ancestors, who sometimes gave law

"to others, sometimes were contented to receive

"it, according to the difference of conjunctures;

"and thus by their wise and virtuous conduct,

"both

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"both in good and bad fortune, frequently pre-
served not their own country only, but all
Greece, from ruin."

THESE representations seem to have reconciled that submission, which their present circumstances made necessary, to those ideas of their own dignity, which the Athenians could not resign without the most painful reluctance. The Lacedaemonians, on their part, too weak to oppose the designs of Philip, and still too proud to concur in them, had resolved to send no deputies to Corinth, and affected to detach themselves entirely from those affairs which now engaged the general attention of Greece. Philip, in a letter which he addressed to this people, reproached them for thus separating from their brethren, and deserting the common cause; and demanded their immediate concurrence, with some menacing expressions. The answer which he received on this occasion was no more than this:

Joan. l. 9.
c. 5.

Plut. Lac.
Apophth.

IF YOU IMAGINE THAT YOUR VICTORY HATH
MADE YOU GREATER, MEASURE YOUR SHA-
DOW [c].

THIS
[c] PLUTARCH, in his Apophthegms, attributes this answer to Archidamus. But king Archidamus, as we learn from Diodorus, died on the very day of the battle of Chaeronea, in an engagement between the Tarentines and Lucanians,

THIS sullen pride, so little suited to the present weakness and depression of Sparta, seems to have been treated by Philip with just contempt. He now parted from the Greeks, with an heart filled with exultation and triumph. He lavished his favours on the deputies of every state, and sent them home to sound his praises, and to inspire his countrymen with the most favourable sentiments of their great and glorious leader [D].

BUT

canians, in which he assisted the former people: and so Plutarch himself relates, in the life of Camillus, where he enumerates the several misfortunes that happened on that fatal day, the seventh of the month called Metagirtion.

OLYMP. 110. Y. 3.

THE present conduct of Sparta accounts for the inscription on the offerings made from the Persian spoil at the passage of the Granicus: "Alexander the son of Philip, and all the Greeks, *except the Lacedaemonians*, took these spoils from the Barbarians." ARRIAN.

[D] DURING the time of Philip's residence at Corinth, he shewed particular attention to Dionysius the younger, who had been driven from Sicily by Timoleon, and now resided in that city. He frequently entertained him at his table, and, by every instance of kindness, endeavoured to alleviate his grief. At one time, Philip attended to some of the poetical performances of the elder Dionysius with an applause, in which possibly his politeness might have had the greatest share. He asked, with an obliging surprise, what time a prince, like the elder Dionysius, could find for such studies. That time, replied the son, elevated by

But the period was now approaching, when all those flattering hopes of greatness and renown, which totally possessed the soul of Philip, were, in one fatal moment, utterly defeated. This prince, adored by his soldiers, and his subjects, revered and admired in Greece, and dreaded and esteemed by foreigners, was by no means exempted from domestic misfortunes. His repeated violations of the marriage bed, and the open and abandoned manner in which he resigned himself up to the gratification of his lawless passions, inflamed the severe and haughty temper of his queen Olympias, who, unable to support his infidelities, determined to revenge them, while, at the same time, she continued her reproaches and complaints. Such a conduct could not fail to extinguish all remains of affection in her husband, and to estrange him totally from the queen. He had several favourites, some of whom have been mentioned; and all are particularly recounted by * Aethnaeus. But at length he conceived a passion of a more serious nature for Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, his general, his favourite, and kinsman. As Cleopatra was no less amiable in her temper and accomplishments, than in the the applause paid to his father, which we waste in amusements and occupations, which have no rational purpose in view.

PLUT. GEM. PLETHO. L. 2.

extra-

* L. 13.
p. 557.
Plut. in
Alex.

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SECT. III.

extraordinary graces of her person, Philip conceived that he should consult his own happiness most effectually, by forming an inviolable and perpetual union with this lady; and, without the least hesitation, resolved to separate himself for ever from the princess who had long appeared so great an enemy to his tranquillity. In vain did Alexander remonstrate, that, by divorcing Olympias, and engaging in a second marriage, he exposed him to the danger of contending with a number of competitors for the crown, and rendered his succession precarious. "My son," said the king, "if I create you a number of competitors, you have the glorious opportunity of exerting yourself, to surpass them in merit: thus shall their rivalship by no means affect your title." His marriage with Cleopatra was now declared in form, and celebrated with all the grandeur and solemnity, which the great occasion demanded. The young prince, however dissatisfied, was yet obliged to attend on these solemnities, and sat in silent indignation at that feast which proclaimed the disgrace of his mother. In such circumstances, his youthful and impetuous mind could not but be susceptible of the slightest irritation. Attalus, the uncle of the new queen, forgetting that just caution which should have taught him to be scrupulously observant to avoid

Plot. in
Apophth.

Plot. in
Alex.

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offending the prince, intoxicated by the honours paid to his kinswoman, as well as by the present festivity, was rash enough to call publicly on the Macedonian nobles to pour out their libations to the gods, that they might grant the king the happy fruits of the present nuptials, legitimate heirs to his throne. "Wretch!" cried Alexander, with his eyes sparkling with that fury and vexation, which he had till now suppressed, "dost thou then call me bastard?" and instantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamour and confusion arose; and the king, in a sudden fit of rage, snatched out his sword, and flew directly towards his son. His precipitation, his lameness, and the quantity of wine, in which he had by this time indulged, happily disappointed his rash purpose; he stumbled and fell on the floor, while Alexander, with an unpardonable insolence, cried out, "Behold, ye Macedonians! this is the king who is preparing to lead you into Asia: see, where, in passing but from one table to another, he is fallen to the ground."

Plut. in
Alex.

THIS accident opportunely put an end to the disorder; Alexander retired, and, soon after quitting his father's court, conducted his mother Olympias into Epirus, from whence he
him-

himself passed into Illyria. His resentment of SECT. III.
the insolence, which Attalus had betrayed, was
in some sort pardonable; but the remarkable
instance of disrespect to his father and his king
justly merited the utmost severity of censure;
and his resolution of retiring into a country,
where Philip was considered as an enemy, had
not even the pretence of sudden heat or warmth
of temper to alleviate its guilt. The Illyrians
were now actually in arms against Philip, and
obliged him to march into their territories at the
head of all his forces. It is not certain that
Alexander was in the Illyrian army, but he un-
doubtedly, at least, resided at the court of
Pleurias, the Illyrian king; who, at the very
time when Philip's power and glory were at the
highest point of elevation, opposed the Macedonians, and asserted the liberty and independence of his country. With this prince Philip was, for the last time, engaged in the field, and gained a complete victory, after an obstinate contest, in which his person was exposed to imminent danger. The enemy poured down upon him with all their force; when, at the time that he appeared ready to sink under their desperate attack, a young Macedonian, named Pausanias, distinguished by his illustrious birth, and by the dignity and gracefulness of his person, cast himself before the king, and, without deigning to

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 93.

Book V.

cover himself with his shield, suffered the enemy to wreck their fury on him, and to bury those weapons in his body, which were directed against his royal master. In the last agonies of departing life, he disclosed the secret of this desperate generosity to Attalus, his friend. He told him, that a young Macedonian, who was also called Pausanias, his companion and fellow-soldier, had derided that affection, which the king had frequently expressed for him, as the effect of a shocking passion, which justly degraded its object not only beneath the dignity of a soldier, but even the rank of humanity; that, impatient of the insolent and unjust reproach, he had formed the resolution of proving by his death, that his attachment to his prince was of the most strictly virtuous kind. Attalus saw his friend expire, with grief and indignation, and determined to regard the man, whose insolence had made so strong an impression on his mind, as the immediate author of his death.

Philip now returned to Macedon, and there found Demaratus the Corinthian, whom he received with the respect, which he usually paid to the most illustrious citizens of the Grecian states. In discoursing about the affairs of this nation, the king asked him, whether the people of Greece had yet forgot their animosities, and lived

Plot. in
Alex. in
Aproph h.

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in due harmony and amicable intercourse with each other. To this Demaratus answered with a becoming freedom, which, at the same time, expressed his regard to Philip: "How can you, Sir, affect an attention to the tranquillity of Greece, while your own family is distracted by quarrels and dissensions?" The king roused by this spirited and ingenuous reply, saw, and confessed, his error; and declared his resolution of putting an immediate end to all his domestic quarrels. He sent his faithful monitor Demaratus into Illyria, to endeavour to recall Alexander to a sense of his duty; and, by his mediation, the prince was persuaded to return to Macedon. Olympias also was admitted to appear once more at the court of Philip, where she seemed to content herself with the titles of queen and mother to the presumptive heir to the throne, still cherishing, however, the warmest and most inveterate resentment against her husband and her rival, and determined to omit no means of inspiring her son with the same sentiments.

Plot. in
Alex.

SOME time after this, Pexodorus, king of Caria, sent to offer his daughter in marriage to Aridaeus, one of Philip's natural sons, whose understanding had been impaired, in his childhood, by a poison which Olympias had given

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him, jealous of the affection his father expressed for him. The friends and flatterers of this queen, ever officious to create suspicions, represented to her son, that this was the effect of a design which Philip had conceived of depriving Alexander of his right of succession, and transferring it to Aridaeus. Olympias herself was industrious to possess Alexander with the like fears, and persuaded him to apply privately to Pexodorus, and to offer to espouse his daughter himself, as this prince could not but prefer his alliance to that of Aridaeus, disgraced both by his birth and understanding. The prince listened to these suggestions, and made some private overtures to the king of Caria, which were eagerly received. But Philip was soon informed of these transactions, however secretly conducted, and instantly flew to the apartment of his son, accompanied by Philotas, one of Alexander's principal favourites. He reproached the prince with his meanness and abject degeneracy, in courting the alliance of a base Carian, whose country was held in such general disesteem, as even to become a proverb and by-word of contempt: a conduct utterly unworthy of that throne to which he was born, and which his father reserved for him as his undoubted right. Alexander was unable to make any answer to this charge; but, as Philip intended

tended to be reconciled to his son, and apparently to forget all animosities, the blame of this affair fell entirely on the agents and assistants. Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, all young Macedonian nobles, who had been intrusted with the prince's intentions, and assisted him by their counsels, were banished; and Thessalus, the principal agent, was, by the king's order, seized at Corinth, and sent in chains to Macedon.

ALL discord now appeared to subside in the royal family; but such appearances were false and deceitful. Olympias still felt her grief, and her son was still irritated by his mother's wrongs. While Philip indulged his ambitious fancy with schemes of greatness and renown, utterly insensible to the dangers impending over him, and blind to the fatal consequences of unrelenting hatred and revenge, an event, which, at this time, raised a considerable commotion at the court of Macedon, gave a free course to that flame, which lay concealed in the breasts of Philip's repudiated queen, and his incensed son. Attalus, as hath been already observed, resolved to revenge the death of the noble Macedonian, who had saved the king's life in Illyria, at the expence of his own. This dreadful purpose he concealed, that he might be the better enabled

to

Book V.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16.
sect. 93.

to execute it; and, with an appearance of friendship, invited the other Pausanias to a feast. Here, when he had, by wine and revelling, rendered him insensible, and incapable of all resistance, with a horrid exultation, he called in his mercenary servants, and exposed the unhappy youth to all their abandoned brutality, as the lowest and meanest of those detestable wretches, among whom he had presumed to account his late companion and fellow-soldier. Pausanias, when sensible of the outrages he had suffered, with all the fury and indignation of a generous mind, flew to the king, urged his wrongs, and loudly called for justice and vengeance on Attalus. The original cause of this outrage was probably well known to Philip; and, together with his regard for the uncle of his new queen, unhappily influenced him much more than the just complaints of an injured subject. Instead of granting redress, he endeavoured to dissipate the vexation of Pausanias, and vainly imagined, that a new command in the army, which he now conferred on him, would be sufficient to allay his vexation, and to make him forget his wrongs. But the wounds, which his honour had received, were not so easily healed: he still harboured the most lively resentment, which the disappointment of revenge served to inflame and irritate.

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THE partisans of Olympias and Alexander officiously expressed the deepest sense of the injuries done to this afflicted youth; and, by pretending to commiserate, laboured to irritate his vexation. They artfully represented to him, that the king, by denying justice, made himself an accomplice in the guilt of Attilus; and that the outrage he had received was of that dreadful nature, which demanded some signal stroke of illustrious vengeance. Alexander himself is accused of practising these arts, or listening to Pausanias with affected pity, while he dwelt upon the story of his injuries; and of spurring him on to the amplest and most extensive revenge, by quoting a line of Euripides, in which Medea threatens to involve, in one great sacrifice, to her resentment,

Plut. in
Alca.

THE FATHER, BRIDE, AND HUSBAND.

Nor were the secret emissaries of Pertheis solicitous to free their country from the danger of a formidable enemy, by urging this Macedonian to the desperate purpose of executing his revenge on Philip. They seem to have seized the favourable opportunity of forming a conspiracy against the life of this king, of which Pausanias was to be the principal instrument:

Arrian. l. 2.
c. 14.

whose

Book II.

Died. Sic.
l. 16.
Æt. 94.

whose mind was now fully prepared for such a fatal purpose.

And now, while this unhappy youth continued brooding over those malignant passions which distracted and corroded his mind, he happened to go into the school of one Hermocrates, who professed to teach philosophy; to whom he proposed the following question: "What shall that man do, who wishes to transmit his name, with lustre, to posterity?" Hermocrates, either artfully and from design, or the natural malignity of his temper, replied, "He must kill him who hath achieved the greatest actions: thus shall the memory of the hero be joined with his who slew him, and both descend together to posterity." This was a maxim highly agreeable to Pausanias, in the present disposition of his mind; and thus various accidents and circumstances concurred to inflame those dangerous passions which now possessed him, and to prompt him to the dreadful purpose of satiating his revenge with the blood of Philip.

Olym. 111.
Y. 1.

In the mean time this prince, fully persuaded that he had restored the tranquillity of his family, indulged his ambitious hopes in full security, and turned his whole attention to his scheme

schemes of greatness, and the expedition against Persia. He already began the war with detaching Attalus and Parmenio at the head of some forces into Asia, where these generals, agreeably to their instructions, drove out the Persian garrisons from some Grecian cities, and restored the inhabitants to their original, free, and independent state.

SECT. III.

SECT. 91.

A KING, celebrated for his piety, could not, on this occasion, neglect the due religious ceremonies, or omit the necessary mark of his reverence to the gods, that of consulting the Delphian oracle about the event of his great design; and any favourable declaration, he knew, could not fail to have a considerable effect in animating his soldiers. The answer, which he received from the Pythian priestess, was expressed in this manner:

Ibid.

“ In fatal pomp, now stands the victim crown’d !

“ The arm already rais’d, that deals the wound !”

WHATEVER application this oracle might have, in some time, appeared to warrant, it was at present received with the utmost joy, as a manifest indication, that the gods had marked out the Persians as a sacrifice to appease their wrath, and to atone for all those profanations, which the barbarous enemy had formerly committed

Theocr. V. 2

19. 202

Justin. l. 9.
c. 7.Pausan. in
Arcad.Diod. l. 16.
sect. 91, 92.

mitted in Greece. In full confidence of success, Philip prepared to enter on his expedition. Just as he was on the point of departure, he concluded a marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and Alexander king of Epirus, the brother of Olympias, a prince for whom he ever retained a strict regard, and whom he hoped to attach firmly to his interest by this alliance; that Olympias, who had already endeavoured to engage him in hostilities against her husband, might find all such efforts ineffectual; nor be enabled to disturb the tranquillity of Macedon in the absence of Philip, while the king of Epirus, from whom only she could expect assistance, was, by this new tie, engaged to oppose and to defeat all designs against his father-in-law.

A few days before this marriage, his queen Cleopatra was delivered of a son; that son which the unrelenting Olympias afterwards put to death, together with his unhappy mother, with such circumstances of cruelty; and Philip determined to celebrate both these joyful events by solemn games and festivals, which were now prepared at Pægae with all possible magnificence. Thither the deputies of every Grecian state, together with all those who had ever been honoured with the king's friendship, were invited to repair,

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repair, to share in his joy, and to receive the last marks of his affection, before his departure into Asia. The concourse was great and splendid: the Grecian cities, who had so lately regarded Philip as their inveterate enemy, now vied with each other, in expressing their respect and affection for this prince. Many of them presented him with crowns of gold; and, among these, Athens now appeared the foremost in her zealous expressions of regard: her crown was also presented; and an herald stood up, amidst those numbers attending on the games now exhibited, and made a solemn proclamation, that the Athenian people had resolved to consider any man as their enemy, who should make an attempt on the life of Philip; to deny him all refuge in their city, and instantly to give him up to justice. This historians have accounted among the omens and portents attending the death of this king, though it seems to have been an usual form of expressing their friendship: but how subject must their flattery appear, when it is considered with what joy the execution of that attempt, against which they now thundered out their decrees, was soon after received at Athens.

THE games were closed with a magnificent feast, to which the whole attending concourse was invited, and in which Philip displayed all his

SECT. III.

Diod. l. 16.
sec. 91, 92.

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Sueton. in
Calig. c. 57.

his usual politeness. As his mind was quite possessed with his great designs, in the midst of mirth and gaiety, he addressed himself to Neoptolemus, who was one of his guests, and asked whether he could repeat any verses applicable to the affairs of Persia. The player instantly seized the fair occasion of flattering his master, by delivering a passage, taken from a tragedy called Cinyras, to the following purport :

In dazzling pomp, O fatally elate !

Whose tow'ring hopes, whose thoughts, (how great !)

Beyond heav'n's concave wing their airy way ;

O'er realms and nations vast and wide,

With vain delusive pride,

Extending their imaginary sway.

Lo, where, in dreadful unexpected hour,

Death comes, inexorable pow'r !

To blast these hopes, amidst their fairest bloom ;

Led by pale horror and despair,

To stop this mad career ;

And bury all in night's eternal gloom [E].

THESE

[E] ALTHOUGH these verses were strictly and remarkably applicable to Philip, in his present temper and circumstances ; yet this prince was not entirely insensible of the vanity of human greatness, but could, himself, moralize on this subject. He once happened to fall to the ground, when

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THESE verses were received with the loudest acclamations: no application being at this time thought of, but that which Neoptolemus intended; nor any potentate supposed to be intoxicated with greatness, and to project vain and extravagant schemes of ambition, ignorant of impending danger, but the king of Persia.

Sacr. III.

THE day which succeeded to this feast was destined to the entertainments of the theatre, to which the numbers attending on Philip, who had all passed the night in gaiety and jollity, and were still assembled, began to repair by the dawn of day. They marched on in solemn order. Among other instances of magnificence, twelve statues of the gods were borne in procession; to which a thirteenth succeeded of still more exquisite beauty and workmanship, representing the great king of Macedon, as a personage worthy to be ranked among the divinities. When the Greeks and Macedonians were seated in the theatre, Philip came out of his palace, attended by the two Alexanders, his son and son-in-law. He was clothed in a white flowing robe, waving

Diod. Sic. l.
16. sect. 93,
94.

when engaged in some gymnastic exercises. As he rose, he observed the impression of his body in the sand. "Heavens," cried Philip, "how small a space hath nature allotted to us; and yet we are vain enough to desire to command the universe."

PLUT. DE EXSULIO, p. 602.

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H h

in

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in soft and graceful folds, the habiliment in which the Grecian deities were usually represented. He moved forward with an heart filled with triumph and exultation, while the admiring crowds shouted forth their flattering applause. His guards had orders to keep at a considerable distance from his person, to shew that the king confided in the affections of his people, and had not the least apprehensions of danger amidst all this mixed concourse of different states and nations. Unhappily, the danger was but too near him. The injured Pausanias had not yet forgot his wrongs, but still retained those terrible impressions, which the sense of the indignity he had received, and the artful and interested representations of others, fixed deeply in his mind. He chose this fatal morning for the execution of his revenge on the prince who had denied reparation to his injured honour. His design had been for some time premeditated, and now was the dreadful moment of effecting it. As Philip marched on in all his pride and pomp, this young Macedonian slipped through the crowd, and, with a desperate and malignant resolution, waited his approach in a narrow passage, just at the entrance into the theatre. The king advanced towards him: Pausanias drew his poignard; plunged it into his heart; and the conquerour,

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querour of Greece, and terrouer of Asia, fell prostrate to the ground, and instantly expired.

Sect. III.

THE murderer flew towards the gates of the city, where there stood horses ready to favour his escape, which Olympias herself is said to have prepared. The tumult and confusion was such as might be expected from so fatal an event. Some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with an officious and ineffectual care, while others pursued Pausanias. Among these were Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus; the first, who excelled in swiftness, came up to the assassin when he was just preparing to mount his horse: but, being by his precipitation entangled in some vines, a violent effort to extricate his foot brought him suddenly to the ground. As he prepared to rise, Perdiccas was upon him, and, with his companions, soon dispatched him, by the repeated wounds which their fury inflicted. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet, but, in the morning, appeared crowned with a golden diadem; the only means by which Olympias could now express her implacable resentment. In a few days indeed, she took a further occasion of publishing her triumph and exultation in her husband's fall, by paying the same funeral honours to Pausanias, which were prepared for Philip: both bodies were burnt on

Just. l. 9.
cap. 7.

Diod. Sic.
l. 16. sect.
93, 94.

Just. ut
supra.

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Inst. ut
supra.Ælian, l.
3. c. 46.Val. Max.
l. 1. c. 8.

* De fato.

the same pile, and the ashes of both deposited in the same tomb. She is even said to have prevailed on the Macedonians to pay annual honours to Pausanias. As if she feared that the share she had taken in the death of Philip should not be sufficiently known to the world, she consecrated to Apollo the dagger which had been the instrument of the fatal deed, inscribed with the word MYRTALIS, the name which she had borne when their loves first began. It was observed, that the handle of this dagger was adorned with the figures of chariots; a circumstance on which a superstitious fiction seems to have been founded. It is said, that Philip was warned by the oracle of Trophonius, "to beware of the chariots;" and that, in consequence of this admonition, he carefully avoided all such vehicles; nor could be persuaded to visit a place in Boeotia called by that name. *Quasi capulo occisus esset*, saith *Cicero, speaking with just contempt of this story.

Thus died Philip king of Macedon, at the age of forty-seven years, and after a reign of twenty-four, spent in toils and difficulties, and enterprises of hazard and danger, in which he so eminently displayed that extent and elevation of genius; that firmness and greatness of mind; that justness and accuracy, penetration and sagacity,

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Sacr. III.

city, in forming his designs; that true discernment in chusing the means of conducting them; and that vigour and resolution in executing them; which have justly rendered him the object of admiration to all those who are acquainted with the Grecian story. The judicious reader cannot fail to have already observed, how far he was assisted in the acquisition of that power to which he aspired, and which was purchased by the labours and dangers of his life, by the advantages which he happily derived from the distresses of his infant years, from his education, from his natural and acquired accomplishments, and from the dispositions and circumstances of those with whom he contended. He may also have already observed, how far the different, and apparently inconsistent, descriptions, which historians have transmitted of this prince's character, may be reconciled by attending to that great ruling passion, the love of glory and power, which possessed the mind of Philip. All his other passions, his inclinations, his natural endowments, the principles in which he had been instructed, the sentiments he had imbibed, the graces, the qualifications, the accomplishments, he had acquired, were all subservient to this. If terrour and severity were necessary for the establishment of his power, his sentiments of humanity easily yielded to the dictates of his ambition; and the distresses,

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in which whole states and countries were involved, he regarded with indifference and unconcern. If dissimulation and artifice were required, his perfect knowledge of mankind, joined to his obliging and insinuating deportment, enabled him to practise these with the most consummate address; and thus were candour and ingenuoussness frequently sacrificed to his schemes of greatness. If corruption was necessary, he knew its power, and was perfect in the art of propagating and recommending it by the fairest and most plausible pretences; and although he endeavoured, from a full conviction of its fatal consequences, to check its progress in his own kingdom (as appears from his discouraging his son's attempts to introduce it) yet he never scrupled to make it his instrument to destroy his rivals. Hence we find him sometimes represented as a cruel, crafty, and perfidious prince, who laid it down as his favourite maxim, that it was a folly, when he had killed the father, to leave any of his family alive to revenge his death; who professed to amuse men with oaths, as children are cheated with toys; and who was rather the purchaser, than the conqueror, of Greece. If, on the other hand, the specious appearances of generosity, condescension, and benevolence, were required to serve his great purposes, no man was more capable of assuming them; no man could display

Suid. in voc.

Θιλιππ.

Ælian. l. 7.

c. 12.

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display them more naturally and gracefully. If SECT. III.
 his reputation was to be exalted, or the number
 of his partisans to be increased, he could confer
 favours with an air of the utmost cordiality and
 affection; he could listen to reproof with pa-
 tience, and acknowledge his errors with the
 most specious semblance of humanity; he could
 conquer his enemies and revilers by his good
 offices, and reconcile their affections by unex-
 pected and unmerited liberalities. Hence again
 we find him imblazoned by all the pomp of
 praise; as humane and benevolent, merciful and
 placable; in the midst of all the insolence of
 victory, careful to exercise the virtues of huma-
 nity; and gaining a second and more glorious
 triumph, by the kindness and clemency with
 which he reconciled and commanded the affec-
 tions of those whom his arms had subdued. Polyb. l. 5.

In a word, his virtues and vices were directed
 and proportioned to his great designs of power:
 his most shining and exalted qualities influenced
 in a great measure by his ambition: and even
 to the most exceptionable parts of his conduct
 was he principally determined by their conveni-
 ency and expediency. If he was unjust, he was
 like Cæsar, unjust for the sake of empire. If he
 gloried in the success acquired by his virtues, or
 his intellectual accomplishments, rather than in
 that

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Plut. in
Apophth.

that which the force of arms could gain, the reason, which he himself assigned, points out his true principle. "In the former case," said he, "the GLORY is entirely my own; in the other, "my generals and soldiers have their share."

THE learned have been sometimes fond of comparing the merit of this prince's painful conquests with the rapid progress of his son; their abilities, their virtues, and their faults. This is a subject which hath been fully exhausted by other writers. And, although the nature and extent of their abilities, their virtues, and their vices, afford much useful instruction, yet the circumstances of those people with whom they contended, may possibly (if duly weighed) suggest reflections more generally and highly useful and interesting.

POST;

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE Note addressed to the learned reader, page 81 of Vol. II, makes it necessary to acquaint him, that this History was finished a considerable time before the publication of that part of the Edition of DEMOSTHENES by Doctor TAYLOR, which contains the Oration ON THE CROWN: and that the author first saw Tom. II. of that valuable work, when his second Volume had been already sent to the press, too late for making any alteration in the Note above-mentioned, yet time enough for suppressing another of the same kind, on the date of the DECREE, page 130, of the same Volume; as he deems it sufficient to refer the learned reader to the Commentary of that judicious editor, page 671, &c.



PHILIP KING OF MACEDON

EXPLANATION of the PLATE of COINS.

N^o 1. A brass coin of the city of Amphipolis, probably struck at the time when Philip declared this city free.—On one side, Philip crowned, possibly in honour of his late victory over the Illyrians.—The reverse, a blade of corn, the emblem of fertility.

N^o 2. A brass coin of the city of Philippopolis, built by Philip in Thrace.—On one side the head of the founder with a diadem.—The reverse, the same as the former.

N^o 3. and 4. Two brass coins intended (according to Beger) to perpetuate the memory of Alexander's intrepidity and vigour in taming Bucephalus.—On the one side, Philip crowned.—The reverse, Alexander mounted on that famous horse.

N^o 5. and 6. Both of gold, in honour of prizes gained at the Olympic games.—On one side, Jupiter crowned with laurel or olive (for antiquarians are not agreed in this point).—The reverse, a man mounted on horseback, hold-

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ing a branch, in the one; in the other, with his arm extended, as preparing to speak.

N^o 7. A brass coin.—On one side, Philip with a lion's hide to denote his descent from Hercules.—The reverse, Jupiter bearing an eagle,—a divinity worshipped in Macedon with peculiar veneration.

N^o 8. A golden coin.—On one side Hercules the founder of the royal race of Macedon.—The reverse, the same as the foregoing.

N^o 9. A golden coin representing Philip crowned with laurel, possibly in honour of his victory over Onomarchus.—The reverse, chariots, in memory of his success at the Olympic games.

N^o 10. A brass coin.—On one side, Philip with a lion's hide.—The reverse, goats, the ensigns of Macedon.

N^o 11. A coin of brass, representing Philip with his lion's hide.—The reverse, a tripod and bow. By which it appears, that this was struck in honour of Philip's success in vindicating the honour of Apollo, and deciding the famous sacred war.

N^o 12. The same with the foregoing, excepting only, that on the reverse a club is joined with the

Explanation of the Plate of Coins

the tripod, denoting Philip's descent from Hercules.

N^o 13. A brass coin.—On one side, a head of Minerva, a goddess to whom the Macedonians paid peculiar honours.—The reverse, a trophy.

N^o 14. A silver coin.—The head of Minerva on one side.—The reverse, Victory with a crown and branch.

N^o 15. A golden coin representing Philip crowned with laurel, possibly in honour of his victory over Oenomaus.—The reverse, chariots, in memory of his success at the Olympic games.

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N^o 16. A brass coin.—On one side, Philip with a lion's hide.—The reverse, goats, the signs of Macedonia.

N^o 17. A coin of Philip with his lion's head, a tripod and bow. By which it was struck in honour of Philip's success in vindicating the honour of Apollo, and deciding the famous sacred war.



N^o 18. The same with the foregoing, excepting only, that on the reverse a club is joined with the

